

OBSERVATIONS
AND
INQUIRIES
RELATING TO
VARIOUS PARTS OF ANCIENT HISTORY;
CONTAINING
DISSERTATIONS
ON THE
WIND EUROCLYDON,
AND ON THE
ISLAND MELITE,
TOGETHER WITH AN
ACCOUNT OF EGYPT IN ITS MOST EARLY STATE,
AND OF THE
SHEPHERD KINGS:

WHEREIN

The TIME of their coming, the PROVINCE which they particularly possessed, and to which the ISRAELITES afterwards succeeded, is endeavoured to be stated.

The Whole calculated to throw Light on the History of that Antient Kingdom, as well as on the Histories of the ASSYRIANS, CHALDEANS, BABYLONIANS, EDMITES, and other Nations.

By JACOB BRYANT.

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M.DCC.LXVII.

pretence to introduce
treaties to Your Grace
not well acquainted with
the truth and Your Grace to obtain
through the most inviolable
the best of all judges of the
the most inviolable of all
the most inviolable of all



TO
HIS GRACE THE DUKE
OF
MARLBOROUGH.

MY LORD,

I WOULD not presume to introduce the ensuing Treatises to Your Grace's notice, were I not well acquainted with Your love of truth, and Your zeal to obtain it through the most severe investigation. A mind so devoted is the best judge of evidence in every degree, being influenced by a more exquisite taste and discernment, and enriched
a with

ii DEDICATION.

with superiour knowledge. It is from this principle, my Lord, that You have been rendered so happy in every rational attainment, and led to an union with virtues the most similar to Your own. Hence it is, that I am emboldened to lay before Your Grace the following Dissertations, which contain matter of dark and remote enquiry; and are the fruits of that ease and retirement, with which, under Providence, I am blest by Your benevolence and favour. These are the only returns I can make for the many signal instances of Your goodness. Beyond these I have nothing left, but prayers and wishes for You long and intimately to enjoy that happiness, which, like a salutary emanation, You so widely diffuse to others. I shall not attempt to make any display of Your high endowments, and hereditary great qualities. May it be the peculiar happiness of these times never to stand in need of such approved worth and excellence. Let the calm
with

DEDICATION. iii

with which we are flattered, long continue;
that nothing may interfere with Your noble
and ingenuous pursuits, nor ruin the happy
tendency of Your studies; much less in any
degree interrupt Your domestic felicity.

Permit me to subscribe myself with the
highest sense of duty and esteem,

My LORD,

Your Grace's

Most faithful

And most obliged

Humble servant,

CYPENHAM,
MAY 1st. 1767.

JACOB BRYANT.

DEDICATED

with which we are favored, long continued
that nothing may interfere with your happiness
and in your business, not turn the happiness
tendency of your studies; much less in any
degree interrupt your domestic felicity.
Permit me to subscribe myself with the
highest sense of duty and esteem,

My friend,

Your Obedient

And most obliged

And most obliged

And most obliged

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JACOB BRYANT

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E R R A T A.

- Pag. 11. Notes, lin. 5. for *Wheeler*, read *Wheler*.
 22. lin. 21. for *are*, read *is*.
 24. lin. 15. for *Meliteusa*, read *Melitussa*.
 37. Notes, lin. penult. for *Sinus*, read *Sinus*.
 60. lin. 23. for *tract*, read *track*.
 92. lin. ult. for *Hayman*, read *Heyman*.
 ibid. Notes, lin. 1. for *Hayman*, read *Heyman*.
 96. lin. 21. dele comma after ονομακληθεν.
 ibid. lin. 22. dele comma after διλυσ; place a comma after τυρανus.
 109. lin. 30. for *these provinces were*, read *these were the provinces of*.
 110. Notes, lin. penult. for *Lb.* read *Lib*.
 124. lin. 11. for *south*, read *north*.
 130. Notes, lin. 1. for *Lib. 12.* read *De Animalibus. Lib. 12.*
 133. lin. 11. for *as that a man*, read *that a man*.
 134. lin. 9. for *person that*, read *persons who*.
 138. lin. 21. for *Anchialum*, read *Ancharium*.
 142. lin. 12. for *beleagured them*, read *and having beleagured them*.
 ibid. lin. 13. *and* after, dele *and*.
 149. lin. 14. for *or to*, read *nor to*.
 158. lin. 22. dele *Herodotus and*.
 172. Notes, lin. 8. for (Αυριu), read (Αουριαν).
 186. Notes, lin. 5. for *now*, read *no*.
 204. Notes, lin. 7. for βωλη, read βωλη; for ξξ, read ξξ.
 206. Notes, lin. 1. for *Al Soyuti*, read *Al Soyuli*.
 243. Notes, lin. penult. for λ, read ρ.
 246. In the List of *Arabian Kings*, after *Mardocentes 45*, add *Anon: 41*.
 269. lin. 12. After *to think, that*, add *for a long time*.
 280. lin. 11. after *light and fire*, add *called by the Greeks Koronus*.
 298. lin. 25. for *wugaior*, read *wegaior*.

T H E
P R E F A C E.

THE following treatises have been compiled from observations made in the course of my reading many years ago; which I thought might be of some service, if they were brought under proper arrangement, and illustrated with farther evidence. This, I imagined, would not be attended with any great trouble, as the general outlines were already plan'd in my mind; and the principal materials were prepared. But I did not consider, how very different it

* a

is,

The second is a dissertation on the two Islands, Me-
 is, to be one's self thoroughly persuaded of a truth, and
 to be able to exhibit the same in such a light, as to
 obtain the like conviction in others. I was not aware
 of the many learned men of the highest repute with
 whom I was to engage: nor the unexpected objections,
 and variety of opinions (many of them rendered al-
 most sacred by antiquity) with which I was to be op-
 posed. The labour, that has arisen from hence, has
 been far greater than can be well conceived; and the
 stating and canvassing these different notions has ren-
 dered the work very dry, and unentertaining, and
 will abridge me of many a reader. I had often
 observed, that the main cause of failure in those
 learned writers, was their engaging in schemes too
 extensive and universal, where each took in hand
 singly, what required the joint labour of numbers, and
 which should have been the work of an age. I have
 therefore confined myself within narrow limits, that I
 might not be bewildered in too wide a field; yet have
 not so closely restrained myself as to refuse the pleasure
 of sometimes expatiating, when a fair opportunity has
 invited me. The first tract is concerning the Wind
 mentioned by St. Luke under the name of *Euraelydon*;
 wherein I endeavour to shew, that the common and
 accepted reading in the original *Greek* is the true one.

The

P R E F A C E.

The second is a dissertation on the two islands, *Melite Illyrica*, and *Melite Africana*; in which I take upon me to prove, in opposition both to *Bechart* and to *Glucen*, and to all the traditions of the Church of *Rome*, that the former was the island, on which the apostle *St. Paul* was shipwrecked. The last, and far largest treatise, contains a partial history of *Egypt* in its earliest state; in which an account is given of the shepherd kings, and of the precise district, which they originally occupied in that country, and to which after their expulsion from the children of *Israel* succeeded. In this detail the situation of the land of *Goshen*, as well as of *Zaan*, is stated; and a particular description exhibited of *Onium* and *Heliopolis*, and of the three provinces, which lay towards the upper point of *Delta*. In the determining the situation of these places, the chief of my geographical labour is expended. Many respectable writers have favoured the world with their opinions upon these subjects; of whom there are some, that I have not had the good fortune to meet with. Among these are the works of *Jablonski*; and whatever *P. Sicard* may have exhibited to this purpose. *M. D'Anville's* learned treatise did at last reach me; but not till my work had been some months in the press; and the far greater part

* a 2 part

The

P R E F A C E.

part was printed. I have the mortification to find, that I differ from him in many articles. His book however would have been of great use to me in several particulars, which had escaped my notice, and his maps of considerable service. For, however I may be obliged to dissent from him, yet there must necessarily be found matter of great edification in a writer so curious, and so knowing, who takes in a far greater compass than that, which I engage in. Much about the same time I was favoured with a sight of *Muller's* tracts, entitled *Satyra Observationum Philologicarum*, whereof it is contained many things to my purpose. It is to my misfortune likewise to differ from this singularly learned man; but in a point of the greatest consequence we are nearly of the same opinion, I mean, the situation of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*. In respect to *M. D'Anville*, I am obliged to dissent from him particularly about the situation of one place, which I have made great use of in the following investigation, and upon which a great deal depends. He places

* *Muller Satyra Observationum Philologicarum.* Lugduni Bat.

1752.

de l'Academie Royale a Paris, 1766. p. 107.

Phacusa

1811

P R E F A C E.

Phacusa towards the bottom of *Delta* to the east of the Nile, in contradiction to the situation which I find was attributed to this place by *P. Sicard*, and which I have likewise given it; *Je suis étonné de voir dans la carte du P. Sicard, une position bien étrange de Phacusa en la remontant jusqu' au-dessus de la division du Nil, au sommet du Delta, peu au-dessus de la Babylone d' Egypte* †. But with due deference to his learning and experience, this was the true situation. In reality there were two places of this name; the one a village, taken notice of by *Strabo*, and situated at the commencement of the great canal under the hill of *Arabia*, and consequently over against the point of *Delta*. The other was a city, the metropolis of a province (if the reading in *Ptolemy* be quite genuine) in situation opposite to the former, standing at the extreme point of *Lower Egypt*, where the Nile was first divided. This was in *Delta*, the other to the east without; yet both in the vicinity of *Babylon*. Of each I shall give an ample description. Many have thought

† Mémoires sur l'Egypte Ancienne et Moderne, par M. D'Anville de l'Academie Royale a Paris, 1766. p. 107.

that

P R E F A C E.

that I should have rendered my work more entertaining, if I had banished all quotations from the text, or at farthest had given the meaning only of what I refer to instead of the original words. But as the whole is matter of close and dark inquiry, I thought it highly requisite, as I proceeded step by step, to bring my authorities immediately under the eye of the reader, that he might see both the propriety and truth of the evidences, to which I appeal, and form a judgment of the inferences, which I make, in order as I produce them.

As I have presumed to point out errors in the works of many eminent writers, I must necessarily suppose that I am liable to similar failures, and must be prepared for a like detection. But I hope that I shall not be found guilty of any dangerous mistakes, such as may affect my argument, and ruin my purpose. I likewise hope that I have no where delivered myself with undue warmth, or severity. There are many authors of whom I have spoken freely, but I believe it needs no apology. In respect to those of real eminence, however I may differ in some particulars, I flatter myself that I have every where paid a due regard to their superior

P R E F A C E

that I should have rendered my work more entertaining-
superior merit. For I should be guilty of great ingra-
titude, if I did not upon all occasions render every
just acknowledgement to persons, who have laboured
so much for the public good: by whose learning I have
been greatly enriched, and by whose very errors I have
profited.

As I have presumed to point out errors in the
works of many eminent writers, I must necessarily sup-
pose that I am liable to mistakes, and must be
prepared for a like censure. I hope that I shall not
be found guilty of any gross mistakes, such as may
affect my argument, and my purpose. I likewise
hope that I have no where delivered myself with un-
due warmth, or severity. There are many authors of
whom I have spoken freely, but I believe it needs no
apology. In respect to those of real eminence, how-
ever I may differ in some particulars, I flatter myself
that I have every where paid a due regard to their
superior

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OF THE
WIND EUROCLYDON.

ADDITIONAL REMARKS
ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ.

ΚΕΦ. κζ.

Ως δε εκρίθη τε αποπλεῖν ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, παρεδίδαν τὸν τε
Παυλὸν καὶ τινὰς ἑτέρας δεσμώτας ἑκατοντάρχῃ, ὀνομαζ. Ἰελίῳ,
σπείρης Σεβαστῆς. Ἐπιβάντες δὲ πλοίῳ Ἀδραμύτηνῳ, μελλόντες 2
πλεῖν τὰς κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν τοπὰς, ἀνηχθήμεν, ὅλος συν ἡμῶν Ἀριστάρχῃ
Μακεδόνης Θεσσαλονικέως. Τῇ τε ἑτέρᾳ κατηχθήμεν εἰς Σάδωναι φι- 3
λανθρῶπως τε ὁ Ἰελίος τῷ Παύλῳ χρησάμενος, ἐπέτρεψε πρὸς φίλους
πορευθέντα ἐπιμελείας τυχεῖν. Καίκειθεν ἀναχθέντες ὑπεπλευσά- 4
μεν τὴν Κύπρον, διὰ το τὰς ἀνέμους εἶναι ἐναντίους. Το, τε πλεόντος 5
το κατὰ τὴν Κιλικίαν καὶ Παμφυλίαν διαπλευσάντες, κατηλθόμεν εἰς
Μύρα τῆς Λυκίας. Καίκει ἔντων ὁ ἑκατοντάρχος πλοῖον Ἀλεξάνδρινον 6
πλεόν εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἐνεβίβασεν ἡμᾶς εἰς αὐτό. Ἐν ἱκαναῖς δὲ 7
ἡμέραις βραδυπλοῦντες, καὶ μόλις γενομένοι κατὰ τὴν Κνίδον, μὴ πρὸς-
εὐνός ἡμᾶς τὰ ἀνέμους, ὑπεπλευσάμεν τὴν Κρήτην κατὰ Σαλμάνην.
Μόλις τε παραλεγόμενοι αὐτήν, ἤλθομεν εἰς τόπον τινα καλεσμένον Κα- 8
λῆς λιμένας, ὃ εἶγυς ἦν πόλις Λασαία. Ἰκανὴ δὲ χρόνος διαγενομέ- 9
νε, καὶ ὁλός ἡδὴ ἐπισφαλὲς τὰ πλοῖος, διὰ το καὶ τὴν νηστειαν ἡδὴ πα-
ρεληλυθῆναι, παρῆναι ὁ Παῦλος, Λέγων αὐτοῖς, Ἄνδρες, θεωρῶ ὅτι 10
μετὰ ὕβρεως καὶ πολλῆς ζημίας ἔμνονον τὰ φορτὰ καὶ τὰ πλοῖα, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν μελλεῖν ἐσεῖσθαι τὸν πλεόν. Ὁ δὲ ἑκατοντάρχος 11
τῷ κυβερνήτῃ καὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ ἐπειθέο μαλλον ἢ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῷ Παύλῳ
λεγόμενοις. Ἀνευθετὰ δὲ τὰ λιμένοις ὑπαρχόντος πρὸς παραχειμασίαν, 12
οἱ πλείους ἐθέντο βελὴν ἀναχθῆναι καίκειθεν, εἰπὼς δύναιντο καταντήσαν-
τες εἰς Φοινικὰ παραχειμασαι, λιμένας τῆς Κρήτης βλέπουσα κατὰ Λίβα
καὶ κατὰ Χωρόν. Ὑποπνευσάντος δὲ Νοτῆ, δοξάντες τῆς προθεσεως 13

Α

κεκρα-

- 14 κεκραγήκεναι, αράντες ασσον παρελεγάντο την Κρήτην. Μετ' ε πολυ
 δε εβαλε καλ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος, ο καλεμενος Ευροκλυδων.
 15 Συναρπασθεντος δε τε πλοιη, και μη δυναμενε αντοφθαλμειν τω ανεμω,
 16 επιδοντες εφερομεθα. Νησιον δε τι υποδραμοντες καλεμενον Κλαυδην,
 17 μολις ισχυσαμεν περικραβεις γενεσθαι της σκαφης. 'Ην αραντες, βοη-
 θειας εχρωντο, υποζωννυντες το πλοιον· φοβεμενοι τε μη εις την Συριην
 18 εκπεσωσι, χαλασαντες το σκευος, ετως εφεροντο. Σφοδρως δε χει-
 19 μαζομενων ημων, τη εξης εκβολην εποικντο· Και τη τριτη αυτοχειρες
 20 την σκευην τε πλοιη ερριψαμεν. Μητε δε ηλις, μητε ασρων επιφαι-
 νοντων επι πλειονας ημερας, χειμωνος τε ουκ ολιγα επικειμενε, λοιπον πε-
 21 ριηρειτο πασα ελπις τε σωζεσθαι ημας. Πολλης δε ασιτιας υπαρ-
 χουσης, τοτε σταθεις ο Παυλος εν ιεσω αυτων, ειπεν, Εδει μεν, ω αν-
 22 δρες, πειθαρχησαντας μοι, μη αναγεσθαι απο της Κρητης, κερδησαι τε την
 23 αποβολη γαρ ψυχης εδεμια εσαι εξ ημων, πλην τε πλοιη. Παρεση
 24 γαρ μοι τη νυκτι ταυτη αγγελος τε Θεω ε εμι, ω και λαλρευω, Λε-
 γων, Μη φοβε Παυλε· Καισαρι σε δει παρασθηναι· και ιδε, κεχαρισται
 25 σοι ο Θεος παντας της πλεοντας μετα σε. Διο ευθυμειτε ανδρες·
 πιστευω γαρ τω Θεω οτι ετως εσαι καθ' ον τροπον λελαληται μοι.
 26 Εις νησον δε τινα δει ημας εκπεσειν. 'Ως δε τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατη νυξ
 27 εγενετο, διαφερομενων ημων εν τω Αδρια, κατα μεσον της νυκτος υπε-
 28 νοεν οι ναυται προσαγειν τινα αυτοις χωραν· Και βολισαντες, ευρον
 οργυιας εικοσι· Βραχυ δε διασησαντες, και παλιν βολισαντες, ευρον ορ-
 29 γυιας δεκαπεντε. Φοβεμενοι τε μηπως εις τραχεις τοπους εκπεσωμεν,
 εκ πρυμνης ριψαντες αγκυρας τεσσαρας, ηυχοντο ημεραν γενεσθαι.
 30 Των δε ναυτων ζητητων φυγειν εκ τε πλοιη, και χαλασαντων την σκαφην
 εις την θαλασσαν, προφασει ως εκ πρωρας μελλοντων αγκυρας εκτεινειν,
 31 ειπεν ο Παυλος τω εκατονταρχη και τοις στρατιωταις, Εαν μη ετοι-
 32 μινωσιν εν τω πλοιω, υμεις σωθηναι ε δυνασθε. Τοτε οι στρατιωται
 33 απεκοψαν τα σχοινια της σκαφης, και εισαν αυτην εκπεσειν. Αχρι
 δε ε εμελλεν ημερα γινεσθαι, παρεκαλει ο Παυλος απαντας μεγαλαβειν
 τροφης, λεγων, Τεσσαρεσκαιδεκατην σημερον ημεραν προσδοκωντες, ασι-
 34 τοι διαλελειτε, μηδεν προσλαβομενοι· Διο παρακαλω υμας προσλα-
 βειν τροφης, τετο γαρ προς της υμετερας σωτηριας υπαρχει· εδενος γαρ
 υμων

ὑμῶν θριξ̄ εκ̄ της̄ κεφαλῆς̄ πέσεται. Εἰπων̄ δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ λαβὼν 35
 ἄρτον, εὐχαρίστησε τῷ Θεῷ ἐνώπιον πάντων, καὶ κλάσας̄ ἠρξάτο̄ εὐθιεῖν.
 Εὐθύμοι δὲ γενομένοι πάντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ προσελαβόντο̄ τροφῆς. Ἦμεν 36
 δὲ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ αἱ̄ πασαῑ ψυχαί, διακοσῖαῑ ἑβδομηκοντὰ̄ ἕξ. Κορε- 38
 σθέντες δὲ τροφῆς, ἐκκρίζον τὸ πλοῖον, ἐμβαλλόμενοι τὸν σίτον εἰς τὴν
 θαλάσσαν. Ὅτε δὲ ἡμέρᾱ ἐγενέτο, τὴν γῆν οὐκ̄ ἐπεγινώσκον̄ κολπον̄ 39
 δὲ τινὰ κατενόον̄ ἐχόντᾱ αἰγιαλόν, εἰς̄ ὃν ἐβλευσάντο, εἰ̄ δυνάιντο, ἐξῶσαι
 τὸ πλοῖον. Καὶ τὰς̄ ἀγκυράς̄ περιελόντες̄ εἰς τὴν θαλάσσαν, 40
 αἶμᾱ ἀνέντες̄ τὰς̄ ζευκτηρίας̄ τῶν πηδαλίων· καὶ ἐπαράντες̄ τὸν ἀρτεμονά τῇ
 πνεύσῃ, κἀείχον εἰς τὸν αἰγιαλόν. Περιπεσοντες̄ δὲ εἰς τοπὸν διθά- 41
 λασσον, ἐπωκέιλαν τὴν ναῦν· καὶ ἡ̄ μὲν πρῶτᾱ ερείσασᾱ ἐμείνεν̄ ἀσαλευτός,
 ἡ̄ δὲ πρυμνᾱ ἐλυέτο̄ ὑπὸ τῆς̄ βίας̄ τῶν κυμάτων. Τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν 42
 βεβλη̄ ἐγενέτο̄ ἵνα τὰς̄ δεσμώτας̄ ἀποκλείνωσι, μὴ τις̄ ἐκκολυμβήσας̄ δια-
 φυγοί. Ὁ δὲ ἐκατόνταρχος, βεβλομένος̄ διασῶσαι τὸν Παῦλον, ἐκώλυ- 43
 σεν αὐτὰς̄ τὸ βεβλεμαῖος, ἐκέλευσε̄ τε τὰς̄ δυνάμενας̄ κολυμβᾶν, ἀπορῥι-
 ψάντας̄ πρῶτας̄ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐξίεναι. Καὶ τὰς̄ λοιπὰς, ἕς̄ μὲν ἐπὶ σα- 44
 νισίν, ἕς̄ δὲ ἐπὶ τινῶν τῶν ἀπὸ τῶ πλοῖου. καὶ ἔτως̄ ἐγένετο̄ πάντας̄ δια-
 σωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν.

Κ Ε Φ. κη.

ΚΑΙ διασωθέντες, τότε ἐπεγινώσαν ὅτι Μελιτὴ ἡ νησὸς καλεῖται. Ὅι 2
 δὲ βαρβάροι παρείχον ἔτην τυχεσαν̄ φιλανθρωπῖαν̄ ἡμῖν.

ST. Paul, having appealed to the judgmentseat of *Cæsar*,
 is, with several other prisoners, committed to the charge of
Julius, a Roman Centurion, to be transported forthwith to
Italy. As the occurrences were remarkable, and the Apostle
 experienced great deliverances during this voyage, he is very
 particular in the description of it. He does not, however,
 tell us the port he first sailed from: nor is it at all material.
 It is said in the narrative, that they came the next day to
Sidon: from which circumstance it is probable they set out
 from *Ptolemæis*, or, as it was originally called, *Acon*: *Grotius*

is of opinion they went from *Cæsarea*. Weighing from *Sidon* they passed under *Cyprus*, because the wind was contrary; and coasting *Cilicia* and *Pamphylia* they arrived at *Myra* in *Lycia*. Hitherto they had sailed in a ship of *Adramyttum*; from which they were now shifted to one of *Alexandria*, that was sailing to *Italy*. And making in many days but a slow progress, and with difficulty getting to the height of *Cnidos*, the wind still continuing unfavourable, they shaped their course south, to the most eastern point of *Crete*, under the promontory *Salmone*: and having hardly weathered that headland, they came to a port called the *Fair Havens*, near the city *Lasea*. Which port not being commodious to winter in, it was thought adviseable to try, if by any means they might attain to *Phenice*, and there winter. This was likewise a haven of *Crete*, that lay open to the north-west and south-west winds. They accordingly set sail; and had the advantage of a southern breeze, that sprung up, and carried them close under land. But in a short time a turbulent and tempestuous wind beat upon the coast; and that with such fury and violence, that they were not able *αυτοφθαλμειν*, to face it: so that, running close under the island *Clauda*, and being obliged to let the ship drive, they overshot the haven *Phenice*: and, after beating the seas fourteen days at the mercy of the tempest, they found themselves at last in the *Adria*, and were wrecked upon the island *Melita*. This wind is said to have been *ανεμος τυφωνικος*, a typhonic wind or hurricane, and was called by the mariners *Euroclydon*.

This is a short and succinct account of all that is relative to the navigation and journal of the Apostle. In which there are two circumstances that I shall make some remarks upon: the one is the tempestuous Wind before mentioned; the other is the Island, on which they were cast away.

In respect to the Wind, St. *Luke*, Chap. xxvii. v. 14. of the *Acts*, gives this particular account of it—*Μετ' ου πολυ δε εβαλε κατ'*

κατ' αὐτῆς ἀνεμος τυφωνικός, ὁ καλεόμενος Ευροκλυδών. The reason of my taking notice of this passage is, that the *Alexandrine* MS. has a different reading; as has likewise the *Vulgate*, and all the translations from it: which reading is countenanced by many learned men; though there is no reason, that I can see, to admit any alteration. *Bochart*, *Grotius*, and *Bentley*, great and respectable names, (not to mention others) are offended at the present reading *Ευροκλυδών*; and think *Ευρακυλῶν*, or, as the *Vulgate* has it, *Euroaquilo* to be more agreeable to the truth. Dr. *Bentley* especially, in his excellent remarks upon *Free-thinking*, is very full upon this head. As his criticism is in this place very extraordinary, I will present it to the reader at large; and then subjoin my own reasons for being intirely of a different opinion.

He argues in this wise — “ The wind *Euroclydon* was
 “ never heard of but here: it's compounded of *ευρος* and
 “ *κλυδών*, the wind and the waves; and it seems plain *a priori*
 “ from the disparity of those two ideas, that they could not
 “ be joined in one compound: nor is there any other exam-
 “ ple of the like composition, But *Ευρακυλῶν*, or, as the vul-
 “ gar *Latin* here has it, *Euroaquilo* (approved by *Grotius* and
 “ others) is so apposite to the context, and to all the circum-
 “ stances of the place; that it may fairly challenge admit-
 “ tance, as the word of *St. Luke*. 'Tis true, according to
 “ *Vitruvius*, *Seneca*, and *Pliny*, who make *Eurus* to blow from
 “ the winter solstice, and *Aquilo* between the summer solstice
 “ and the north point; there can be no such wind nor word
 “ as *Euroaquilo*: because the *Solanus* or *Apheliotes* from the
 “ cardinal point of east comes between them. But *Eurus* is
 “ here to be taken, as *Gellius* II. 22. and the *Latin* poets use
 “ it, for the middle æquinoctial east, the same as *Solanus*: and
 “ then in the table of the twelve winds according to the an-
 “ tients, between the two cardinal winds *Septentrio* and *Eurus*,
 “ there are two at stated distances, *Aquilo* and *Καικίας*. The
 “ *Latins*

“ *Latins* had no known name for *Καικίας*: *Quem ab oriente sol-*
 “ *stitiali excitatum Græci Καικίαν vocant; apud nos sine nomine*
 “ *est*, says *Seneca*, *Nat. Quæst. V. 16.* *Καικίας* therefore blow-
 “ ing between *Aquilo* and *Eurus*, the *Roman* seamen (for want
 “ of a specific word) might express the same wind by the
 “ compound name *Euroaquilo*; in the same analogy as the
 “ *Greeks* call *Ευρονότος* the middle wind between *Eurus* and
 “ *Notus*; and as you say now south-east and north-east.
 “ Since therefore we have now found that *Euroaquilo* was the
 “ *Roman* mariners word for the *Greek* *Καικίας*; there will soon
 “ appear a just reason why *St. Luke* calls it *ανεμος τυφωνικος*, a
 “ tempestuous wind, *vorticosus*, a whirling wind; for that’s
 “ the peculiar character of *Καικίας* in those climates; as
 “ appears from several authors, and from that known pro-
 “ verbial verse,

“ *Ἐλκων εφ’ αὐτον ὡς ὁ Καικίας νεφη.*

“ So that with submission I think our *Luther’s* and the *Da-*
 “ *nish* version have done more right than your *English* to the
 “ sacred text, by translating it *NORD-OST*, north-east: though
 “ according to the present compass divided into *XXXII*, *Euro-*
 “ *aquilo* answers nearest to *OST-NORD-OST*, east-north-east:
 “ which is the very wind that would directly drive the ship
 “ from *Crete* to the *African Syrtis*, according to the pilot’s
 “ fears, in the 17th verse.”

Thus far this learned critic, whose first objection to the
 common and accepted reading I find to be, that the wind
Euroclydon was never heard of but here. To this I answer, that
 I do not think it right to deviate from the original text, and
 admit of any alteration, merely because a word is new to us.
St. Paul was in a ship of *Alexandria*, a city that for three cen-
 turies had maintained the greatest traffic of any place in the
 world. As extensive trade always introduces new terms of
 art, and distinctions not known before; it is very possible for
 them to have had a name for a wind, that might not be cur-
 rent

rent in *Attica* or the *Peloponnesus*. If then there be any thing uncommon in this appellation, there is no occasion to have recourse to *Gellius*, or fly to the Poets for authority : all may be very right, though not authenticated by them. Several *Grecian* nations had their particular names for months and festivals; and they might have their several distinctions for weather and for winds. Had not the *Athenians* their *Ορνιθιαι*, *Χελιδονιαι*, *Προδρομοι*, *Ετησιαι*, names not in use at *Alexandria*? why might not the *Alexandrians* in their turn have terms that were unknown at *Athens*? But the Doctor has a strange presumptive notion, that these were *Roman* sailors: and the whole of his argument turns upon it. But this he takes for granted without the least foundation. The mariners were doubtless *Greeks*, that had their particular terms and distinctions, which other countries were not acquainted with. Many winds are not denominated from the point they blow from; but from their effects and violence. How many species of winds are there at this day taken notice of by sailors, and in common acceptance among those who experience them, that are little known out of the latitude they blow in! We read of *Levant* winds, *Trade* winds, *Monsoons*, *Cormantines*, *Hermatans*, and a suffocating blast, called a *Bloom*, on the coast of *Guinea*: they have the like scorching wind in *Persia*, called *Samael*, that comes from the mountains of Sulphur: add to these *Tramontanes*, *Travadoes*, *Tornadoes*, *Pupugaios*, *Summasentas*, *Terrenos*, and the very wind here mentioned, *ανεμος τυφωνικος*, which our sailors at this day call a *Tuffoon*. They are not therefore to be looked for on the mariner's card; nor to be rejected, if they be not in common use and acceptance: for the novelty of a term should not necessarily be an objection to it. The word is uncommon, we grant: but what is it, that we are to substitute in its room? Another word equally uncommon. Neither *Euroclydon* nor *Euroaquilo* are to be found but in this passage of the *Acts*; where one is a various reading

to the other. "*Euroclydon*," says Dr. Bentley, "was never heard of but here:" he acknowledges presently afterwards the same of *Euroaquilo*. Why does he reject one reading for being singular, and admit another that is liable to the same objection? what is it that determines his choice?

It seems, "*Euroclydon* is an odd compound, being made up of *ευρος* and *κλυδων*, wind and waves: and it appears plainly "*à priori* from the disparity of those two ideas, that they could not be joined in one; nor is there another example of the like composition." For my part, I can see no more disparity here, than I do in any other compounds; such as *γεωργος*, *χειρουργος*, *κερκοπιθηκος*, *ναυπηγος* &c: no more inconsistency between wind and water, than between mill and water, wind and mill, land and water, &c, &c: from whence we have windmill, watermill, windsail; and, though a modern, yet a just compound, the *English* adjective, *Terra-queous*. Add to these words of an exact analogy, seabreeze, landbreeze, landgate, seagate, watergate. In all composition of this nature, where there are two substantives, there is ever a verb understood, that connects the two terms: nor can there be any more impropriety in blending wind with water in *Euroclydon*, than in joining wind with wind in *Euroaquilo*. It is true, I should have taken the word *Euroclydon* to have signified an eastern swell, or a deep sea from the east: but, as the sacred writer tells us it was the name of a wind, it certainly implies a wind that makes such a swell from the east; *i. e.* when taken out of composition, *Ευρος κλυζων*, an east wind that causes a deep sea or vast inundation.

Thus much to make this reading feazable. But, were it otherwise, what would you substitute in it's room? *Euroaquilo*, say the patrons of the *Vulgate*. But there was no such wind: and, had there been such a one, yet it could not be that specified here; as I will abundantly prove hereafter.

In the first place, there never was, nor could be, such a
wind

wind as *Euroaquilo*. The learned writer, whose opinion I am controverting, takes uncommon pains to remove *Eurus* from the point where it is ever stationed, in order to compound it with a wind that it is really incompatible with. And how does he effect it? by means the most extraordinary: no less than by making *Gellius* and the *Latin* poets, whose authority he does not produce, the best judges to determine the establishment of the *Greek* winds, in contradiction to the *Greeks* themselves: all which labour is undertaken to introduce a reading as new and uncommon as that which he repudiates. And, in making use of *Roman* authority, he confessedly sets aside the evidence of the best and most respectable writers; and founds his opinion on the report of a single person, who will at last turn out a confused and a second-hand voucher. But let us attend to his words—" 'Tis true, "according to *Vitruvius*, *Seneca*, *Pliny*," (he might have added *Varro*, *Columella*, and of the *Greeks*, who were the best judges, *Aristotle*, *Timosthenes*, *Bio*, *Posidonius*, *Strabo*, &c.) according to the opinion of these, "there could be no such "wind, nor word, as *Euroaquilo*: but *Eurus* is here to be "taken, as *Gellius* II. 22. and the *Latin* poets use it, for the "middle æquinoctial east."—As to the poets, he does not produce their evidence; nor is it worth producing, they write always so indeterminately,¹ and with such a latitude. The whole of the argument then rests upon *Gellius*: let us turn to him, and hear what he says.

He

¹ *Ovid* says,

Eurus ad Auroram Nabathæaque regna recessit. *Metam.* I. 61.

That's not much amiss — *Virgil* places it in the vicinity of the north pole — *Septem subiecta Trioni*

Gens effrena virum Riphæo tunditur Euro. *Geor.* 3. 381.

Can Dr. *Bentley* imagine that pilots and mariners were guided by such authorities? To speak the truth, *Virgil* means by *Eurus* the wind in general; just as he uses *dura flex* for any hard rock, *quercus* and *ilex* for any timber. Where he speaks of *Eurus* as infesting the climate, he just before mentioned the *Caurus* blowing — *Semper hiems, semper spirantes frigora Cauri*. The *Caurus* and *Eurus* are winds diametrically opposite.

He tells us nothing of himself, but only — *Favorinus ita fabulatus est* — Being at dinner with one *Favorinus*, that person discoursed at large about the winds, and ran counter to the opinions of the best writers that preceded him. Among other things that he determined, was the place of the wind *Eurus*; which, as far as we can understand him, he would fain remove from the eastern winter solstice, and make it the same as the *Solanus* and *Αφελιωτης*: that is, instead of the south-east, he would place it in the eastern *Equinoctial* point.² But this *Favorinus* is not of sufficient consequence to be opposed singly to the group of illustrious writers before mentioned. He was a Sophist; and does not in the present affair acquit himself with proper precision. The words of his commentator upon this very passage will give one a just idea what his authority merits: *Intricatè hìc loquitur Favorinus; et dubito an seipsum intellexerit; vel per Eurum Euronotum sive Vulturnum denotaverit. Sed quid commune Vulturno cum Aquilone? &c.* Thus all this laboured evidence vanishes in smoke; and it is the real opinion of his Scholiast, that the Sophist did not understand himself, any more than

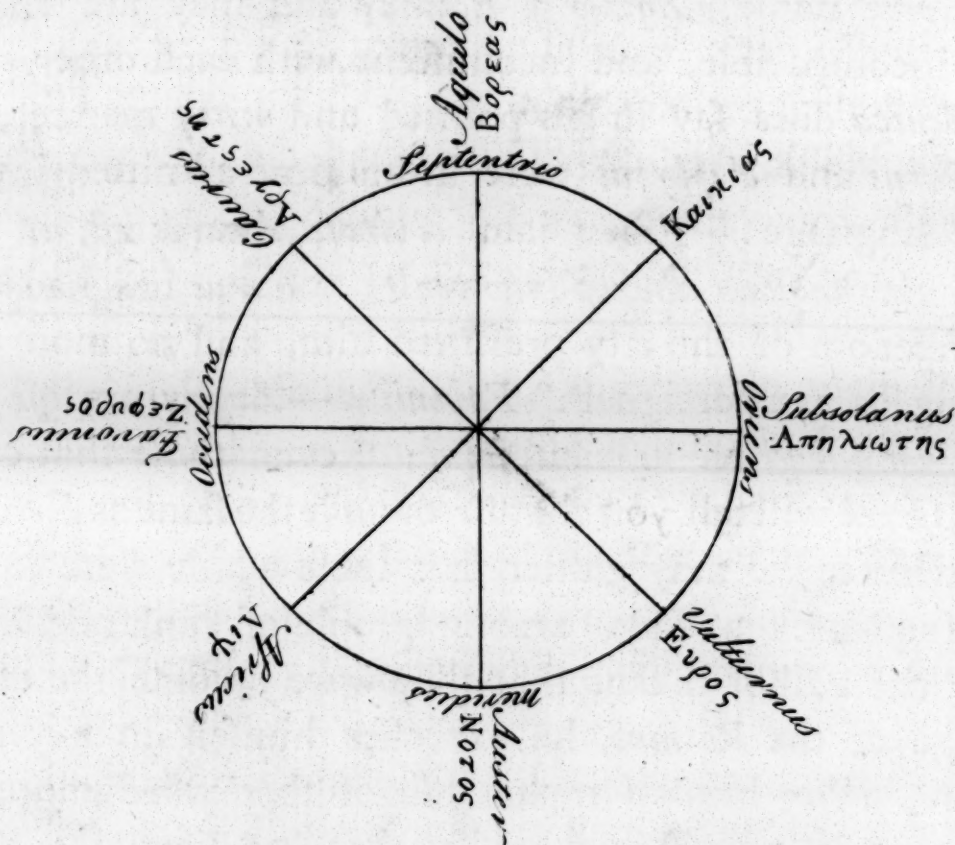
² *Qui ventus igitur ab Oriente verno, id est, æquinoctiali venit, nominatur Eurus — is alio quoque à Græcis nomine απηλιωτης, à Romanis nauticis Subsolanus cognominatur. Aul. Gell. Lug. Bat. 1666. p. 160. Caurus — adversus Aquilonem flat. Favonius — adversus Eurum flat. p. 161. Iapygem — eum esse propemodum Caurum existimo — videtur adversus Eurum flare. pag. 163.*

The whole of this dissertation in *Aulus Gellius* is a burlesque upon criticism; the chief speaker being so confused and inconsistent. Towards the close *Favorinus* tells us, that he was very near giving a long detail of all the winds that blow; “for really,” says he, “I have taken “a cup too much, — *quia paulo plus adbibi*: but it is not fair to have all “the conversation to one’s self.” What makes it more ridiculous, is that *Gellius* assures us, all this was uttered with great elegance of words, and with peculiar grace and address in the delivery — What signify grace and elegance, without perspicuity and precision? *Hæc nobis Favorinus in eo quo dixi tempore apud mensam suam summâ cum elegantia verborum totiusque sermonis comitate atque gratiâ denarravit. p. 165. Lib. 2. 22.*

than he is understood of others. — ³So much for *Favorinus fabulator*.

Another reason for my rejecting this reading of the *Vulgate* is the terms it is compounded of. For, if the etymology of *Euroclydon*

³ Who could imagine, there would ever be any controversy about the particular stations of the *Greek* winds, as long as the *Octogon* temple of *Andronicus Cyrrhestes* at *Athens*, commonly called *the Temple of the Winds*, was in being? It is intire, and has been described by *Sir George Wheeler* and *Spon*. It has since been delineated at large by *Mons. Le Roy*, and still more accurately by *Mr. Steuart*. *Vitruvius* and *Varro* quote it's authority.



Agreeable to this is the determination of *Dionysius Uticensis* in his description of the *Grecian* winds. Απο των τεσσαρων κλιματων τεσσαρες αυ-
 θευτικοι πνευσιν ανεμοι, ο Απηνιωτης, και ο Ζεφυρος, και ο Βορεας, και ο Νοτος.
 Ο μεν εν Απηνιωτης απο ανατολικη κεντρον φερομενος εχει παραπνεοντας αυτου
 του Ευρου, και του Καικιαν, κ. τ. λ. *Geopon. Edit. Cantab. p. 16.*—In like
 manner *Vitruvius* — *Inter Solanum et Austrum.*—*Eurus. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.*

Euroclydon is unsatisfactory to *Grotius*, *Lipsiensis* and *Bochart*; that of *Euroaquilo* may be equally so to others. Those learned men seem to me to have proceeded on a wrong principle: for they think, as the *Greeks* compounded the two winds *Eurus* and *Notus*, and formed a third that was a medium to the extremes; so *Eurus* and *Aquilo* might have been blended in the same manner, and a third called *Euroaquilo* have been constituted from them. But they do not sufficiently consider that in the former case the *Greeks* joined together two winds of *Greek* original; in doing which there was no impropriety: but there is a manifest impropriety in the latter case, where a *Greek* and a *Roman* wind are unnaturally combined: for *Eurus* is a *Greek* name, *Aquilo* a *Roman*; and they are for that reason incompatible, and inconsistent with each other. It is true, *Seneca* does say in his pointed and witty manner, that both *Eurus* and *Zephyrus* were in his time admitted into the *Roman* language:⁴ *Eurus jam civitate donatus est, et nostro sermoni non tanquam alienus intervenit*; “*Eurus* has had at last “the freedom of the city presented him, and no more passes “among us as a foreigner:” *Favonium*—*Zephyrum esse dicent tibi, etiam qui græcè nesciunt loqui*; “even those that cannot “speak *Greek* will tell you that *Zephyrus* is the same as *Favonius*.” From whence we may gather that these words were in some degree admitted at *Rome* among people of rank and letters: but, if the author means that they were become the current language of the *Romans*, he expresses himself in a very lax manner. *Pliny* himself makes use of this word more than once; yet tells us ⁵very expressly that for *Eurus* the *Romans* had *Vulturnus*, for *Boreas* they used *Aquilo*—and he lived after

Ab Oriente æquinoctiali Subsolanus; ab Oriente brumali Vulturnus: illum Apelioten, hunc Eurus Græci appellant. *Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 2. Cap. 47. Edit. Harduin.*

⁴ *Nat. Quæst. Lib. 5. Cap. 16.*

⁵ *Hist. Nat. Lib. 18. Cap. 34. Edit. Harduin.*

after *Seneca*. For it does not follow, because a word is in vogue within the verge of the court, or in use with the learned, that it is ⁶immediately in general acceptation. Sea-faring people keep long to their own terms: pilots and mariners come but late into the fashion. But, as this may be matter of uncertainty, let us abide by *Seneca*, where he speaks fully to the purpose; which he does, when he proves there was no such wind as *Euroaquilo*, by saying, the wind that answered to *Καιμιας* had among the *Romans* no name.

And here I cannot but take notice of the strangest inference that, I believe, was ever made. The words of *Seneca* I have mentioned before—*Quem Græci Καιμιαν vocant, apud nos sine nomine est*. As this writer was contemporary with *St. Paul*, one would think his testimony decisive; and might naturally expect it to be used to prove there was no such word in the language. But *Dr. Bentley* makes quite a different inference—"As the *Roman* seamen had no specific word, they probably might express it by the compound *Euroaquilo*;" and he afterwards tells you he found that they did so: all which, stript of its specific distinction, amounts in plain *English* to this—Since *Seneca* assures us the *Romans* had no name for this wind, the *Roman* sailors must for that very reason have had one: which distinction between the *Romans* and *Roman* sailors is truly curious.⁷ This is the first time, I believe, a writer's authority is used to contradict his own testimony; and a supposition

⁶ We have many instances of this in *French* words, that are used by people of rank, and adopted into the *English* language, which the commonalty are not acquainted with. I dare say, the wind *Eurus* was no more in use among the *Roman* sailors, than the *Levant* or *Ponent* are among the *British*.

⁷ The process of this investigation is worth attending to. The scope of *Dr. Bentley's* argument is this—*Seneca* assures us that the *Romans* had no name for this *Greek* wind; consequently the *Roman* sailors had none: as the *Roman* sailors had no name for it, they probably invented one; and hence we find they had one. To all which I subjoin, to complete

position inferred from positive evidence to the contrary. As *Seneca* and *Pliny* were both of them philosophers, and wrote particularly on this subject; it cannot be supposed that they could be ignorant of a circumstance of this nature.

I have already observed, that, through the whole course of *Dr. Bentley's* reasoning, the mariners are supposed to be *Romans*. This is without any hesitation taken for granted; though there is not the least show of evidence to countenance the opinion. Are we to imagine, because the *Romans* conquered all the world, that they navigated every ship upon the seas? The Evangelist does not tell us, that this was an *Italian* ship coming from *Alexandria*; but an *Alexandrine* ship going to *Italy*. It is therefore wonderful that *Cluver*, *Bochart*, *Grotius*, and, I believe, every writer upon the subject, should overlook this circumstance, that entirely subverts their hypothesis. There is not the least reason to imagine that the mariners were from *Italy*. *Alexandrine* ships were navigated by people of *Alexandria*; as appears by a ship from that place, which *Lucian* in a serious *Platonic*⁸ dialogue gives a very particular account of. It set out from the *Pharos* laden with corn; and was to bring back in return the amount of twelve *Attic* talents to the owner. Had the crew been *Romans*, it could not but have been mentioned. From the name of the pilot, and the conversation held in the *Piræus* by the *Athenians* with the master of the ship, and indiscriminately with the sailors, it is plain they had the same language, and consequently were *Greeks* of *Alexandria*. It is observable the name of the ship was the *Isis*; and it had the image of that goddess on the prow.

There

plete the argument; as the *Roman* sailors had a name for it, certainly the *Romans* had. Thus you may, by this subtle way of reasoning, prove that the *Romans*, at one and the same time, had and had not a name for the thing in dispute.

⁸ Πλοίου η Ευχαι.

There are many other accounts of *Alexandrine* ships, that will prove what I maintain. Various authors speak of them, particularly ⁹*Cicero*, ¹*Suetonius*, ²*Seneca*, ³*Strabo*. As the trade they carried on was immense, and at the same time is a circumstance closely connected with my subject; I hope the reader will excuse me, if I dwell a little upon this head, and lay the nature and process of this navigation before him. Their chief commodity was corn, which they exported annually for *Italy* to a great amount. This was a freight of such consequence, that many laws were enacted under different emperors for its regulation and dispatch. The mariners particularly were under great restrictions, ⁴being obliged to use their utmost diligence; and were liable to a capital punishment, if they unnecessarily went out of their course.⁵ The magistrates and commissaries on shore suffered a total confiscation of their estates, if they were convicted of mismanagement.⁶ In short, no delay was allowed: for imperial *Rome*, the mistress of nations and pride of the universe, was often in want of bread. No city suffered at times greater scarcity: nor was there any gratuity to the people more acceptable than a donative of corn. For this reason *Augustus*, when he reduced *Egypt* into the form of a province, opened the canals of the *Nile*, that had been obstructed and spoiled; and exacted by way of tribute a certain portion of wheat, to be annually sent to *Italy*. The amount of this impost was incredibly great. If we may credit *Aurelius Victor*,⁷ it was no less than twenty millions of *Roman Modii*: *hujus (Augusti scil.) tempore ex Ægypto urbi annua ducenties centena millia frumenti inferebantur*; which in
our

⁹ Orat. pro Rab. Post. 14.

¹ In Augusto & Nerone.

² Senec. Epist. 77.

³ Lib. 5. item Lib. 17.

⁴ Cod. L. XI. Tit. 1. 6.

⁵ L. 7. C. de Naviculariis.

⁶ L. 8. C.—L. 4. C.

⁷ *Epitome de Vitâ et Moribus Imp. Roman.*

our measure is above one hundred and sixty thousand tun:⁸ an amazing quantity, yet only one third of what was raised from the *African* provinces. This was originally brought over in ships⁹ of great burden; that, at the same time, imported drugs, spices, silk, tapestry, glafs,¹ in short all the produce and merchandise of the east. They generally set out together, forming a large fleet called *Commeatus Alexandrinus*, and made use of *Puteoli*² for an harbour; drawing, I imagine, too much water for the *Tiber*. Before them went some light frigates, called *Præcursores* and *Tabellariæ*, to give notice of their approach. They were always so welcome on account of their freight,

⁸ The *English* gallon by a statute of *Henry VII.* was to be eight pounds: consequently the peck sixteen; to which the *Roman* modius was equivalent, or rather somewhat more. Now 20000000 *Roman* modii or pecks $\times 16 = 320000000$ pounds *Troy*. Which 320000000 divided by 2000 the number of pounds in a tun give 160000, the amount in tunnage of this importation from *Egypt*.

The import of corn then from *Egypt* annually was 160000 tun; which at times must have amounted to no less than a million sterling. This was the consumption at *Rome* in three months; being one third only of the corn supplied from *Afric*, besides what came from *Sicily* and other places. *Arbutnot* on Weights and Measures. p. 88. and 121.

This will appear less extraordinary, when we are told that *Ptolemy Philadelphus* raised every year from the same country of *Egypt* three times this quantity; as appears from *St. Jerome* on the ninth chapter of *Daniel*.

⁹ The ship mentioned by *Lucian* was 180 feet long, 60 wide, and about 44 feet from the upper deck to the keel. The *Soleil Royal* is in length 182, 48 broad, and, if I mistake not, about 44 deep. The *Royal George* of 100 guns from the extreme part of the figure at the head to the taffarel is

	feet	inches
Length of the lower deck	178	0
Extreme breadth	51	0
Depth in the hold	21	6
Height from the bottom of the keel to the waist	45	6
Height from the bottom of the keel to the taffarel	61	6
Burthen in tuns	2000	

In the computation and measurement of the *Alexandrine* ship I allow 1 foot and half to a cubit.

¹ Mart. Lib. 12. Epigr. 74.

² Senec. Epist. 77.

freight, that they had the privilege of entering the harbour with their *supparum* or topfail displayed: an honour no other foreign ships were allowed. *Puteoli* was in those times the great emporium of *Italy*: and it's mole is represented as a wonderful structure; being founded on stone piles, that were formed of a particular cement which hardened in the water; and taking in a mighty circumference, so that a large navy might ride securely within it's barrier. *Strabo*, speaking of these fleets,³ takes notice that, in respect to *Italy*, the imports and exports were very different. "The ships came, he says, "slow and deep laden; but returned home light and nimble."

Γνοίη δ'αν τις εν τε τη Αλεξανδρεία και τη Δικαιαρχια γενομενος, ὁρων τας ὀλκαδας εν τε τῷ καταπλῷ, και εν ταις αναγωγαις, ὅσον βαρυτε-
ραι τε και κρηφοτεραι δευρο κἀκεισε πλεοιεν. From this account we may, I think, be assured of the country that these ships are to be referred to. They came to *Italy*, as it were to a mart; but *Egypt* was their retreat and home. There was a *Pharos* or lighthouse near *Puteoli*, towards the building and repairing of which the *Alexandrine* ships paid a toll in common with other foreign vessels. There is an⁴ inscription extant to that purpose. This *Pharos*, I imagine, was situated in the island *Capreae*; the same that was thrown down by an earthquake just before⁵ the death of *Tiberius*, and was afterwards rebuilt. It is alluded to by *Statius* in speaking of this coast;

⁶*Telebounque domos, trepidis ubi dulcia nautis*

Lumina noctivagæ tollit Pharos æmula lunæ.

There is another inscription mentioned by *Grævius*, that is a further confirmation of what I have been maintaining. It contains the wishes of some *Alexandrine* commanders for the health and long life of the emperor *Commodus*:

ΥΠΕΡ

³ Vol. 2. pag. 1142. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

⁴ Gruter.

⁵ Sueton. in *Tiberio*. c. 74.

⁶ Sylv. Lib. 3. *ad Claudiam Uxorem*. Vers. 100.

ΥΠΕΡ ΣΩΤΗΡΙΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣ
 ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ
 ΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ
 ΟΙ ΝΑΥΚΛΗΡΟΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΡΕΥΤΙΚΟΥ
 ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΙΝΟΥ ΣΤΟΛΟΥ.⁷

This inscription being in *Greek* seems to indicate, that those who composed it were of that nation. If these officers had been *Romans*, they would have paid this compliment to their emperor in their native language.

I thought it would not be unentertaining to the reader to have this short history of the trade of *Alexandria* laid before him: which I have been pretty full in describing; as it is much to the present purpose, and of some consequence in respect to a subsequent inquiry. We may learn from many particulars here mentioned the true country of the persons who navigated the Apostle's ship. They came from the same place with those specified above, and on the same errand, to carry corn to *Italy*; but whether on a publick or a private account, is uncertain. It is probable, they set out with the grand fleet, but were very early separated by stress of weather: which was perhaps the reason of their meeting with another ship afterwards from the same port; that had undergone the like disaster, and lost its passage. It is sufficient, that every circumstance evinces, they were *Greeks* of *Alexandria*: they had therefore a name for this wind; and cannot be supposed to have unnecessarily adopted one of a foreign manufacture, one too of so barbarous a construction.⁸

But

⁷ There is something particular in the original form of the letters, that this inscription is composed of. It is at *Rome* in the *Belvedere*; and it seems to be carefully copied by *Jos. Scaliger* in his animadversions on *Euseb. Chron.* p. 119.

⁸ *Lucian* plainly intimates that the principal person was a *Grecian*, and paints him very particularly. And here I cannot but take notice of a great oversight in historians; who, in their descriptions of nations, sit down

But what occasion is there for going these lengths to prove the impropriety of this word, which, at first sight, is manifest from the context. Dr. Bentley insists that the *Vulgate* and *Alexandrine* reading is the true one. Let us for once allow it, and attend to the consequence. *Euroaquilo* is then to be inserted

down contented with giving us the battles, confederacies, and achievements, that are in common to people of every denomination and climate: but the strong national outlines and constitutional marks they forget to exhibit. Now we are pleased, when we are made acquainted with the particular turn of mind and disposition of any nation: and are glad to proceed farther, and to survey the personal distinctions and characteristics; and to have the dress, air, and habit, as it were in a picture, presented before us. In the passage alluded to above, *Lucian* gives us such a picture of a *Greek* of *Alexandria*. He describes him as issuing out of his apartments in the ship, neatly dressed, and making a gay appearance; having his hair combed back, and tied with great exactness according to the fashion of his country. But when this trim personage comes to be more nearly examined, and compared with a native *Athenian*; he falls infinitely short in the opinion of those who behold him; as *Lycinus*, one of the interlocutors, witnesses — *Και μὴν ὁ πανυ καλός, ὡ Σαμῖτιώπῃ, ὁ μείρακιςκος ἐδοξε μοι — οὗτος γὰρ, πρὸς τῷ μελαγχρὲς εἶναι, καὶ προχέλος ἐστὶ, καὶ λεπτός ἀγαν τοῖν σκελοῖν· καὶ ἐφθγγετο ἐπισεστυρμένον τί καὶ συνεχές καὶ ἐπιτροχόν, Ἑλληνισί μιν, ἐς τὸ πατρίον δὲ τῷ ψοφῷ καὶ τῷ τῆς φωνῆς τόνῳ.* We have here the national marks of this person strongly delineated. He seems to have been a *Mestize*: his countenance being deeply bronzed; his lips protuberant; his legs dry and thin; and the tone of his voice foreign, and his manner of speaking somewhat inarticulate and hasty. In short, we see here a *Greek* insensibly verging towards an *Ethiopian*. Many people think the *Negroes* are a distinct species from the rest of mankind: but I do not perceive any reason for such a notion. Who can doubt, that sees a *Greek* thus sunk into an *Egyptian*, but that an *Egyptian* by degrees may degenerate to a *Caffre*?

There is a passage in *Plautus*, that will always be acceptable on the same account as the foregoing. It is in the *Pænulus*, Act. 5. Sc. 2. where the author gives us a general idea of the *Carthaginian* women from *Giddeneme*, a native of those parts. *Hanno* had been inquiring what was the make and figure of a particular person — *Han. Sed earum Nutrix, quâ sit facie, mihi expedi.* *Milphio* answers — *Staturâ haud magnâ, corpore aquilo — Specie venustâ, ore parvo, atque oculis pernigris.* Making allowance for the times, one would imagine he was describing some beautiful *Moor* of *Andalusia* or *Grenada*. If the accounts transmitted to us are true, these original marks were not erased when the *Moriscoes* left *Spain*: and the *Saracen* blood must have been deeply tinged with the *Punic*.

serted in the table of *Roman* winds, and to answer to the *Cæcias* of the *Greeks*. In consequence of this, *St. Luke* is made to say, μετ' ου πολυ δε εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος, ο καλυμενος Ευρακυλων; that there came upon them a violent typhonic wind, called *Euroaquilo*. I would only ask what is the meaning of Ευρακυλων? It is said to be an ENE; or, in round terms, a north-east wind—Construe it so, and see what sense can be made of it—"In a short time there beat upon it a typhonic wind called a north-east," or a hurricane, or a violent storm, or what you please, called a north-east wind. Try every way, and you will still be disappointed. Here is an extraordinary circumstance mentioned; and you expect it to be called by a particular appellation: but you meet with nothing satisfactory: the *species* is denominated by the *genus*, a retrograde way of determination; and the name⁹ that should discriminate affords not the distinction required. *Euroaquilo* is a stationed wind; and may be referred to as a general point for all winds that blow in that direction, taking in all from the slightest breeze to the strongest gale. This typhonic wind is mentioned as a species; and therefore cannot be denominated by a general term: because a general denomination does not specify nor distinguish. If a writer informs us that, on the coast of *Malabar*, they have a *Monsoon* called a south-west; how does this particularize or explain? The converse, indeed, affords a proper distinction; they have a south-west wind called a *Monsoon*: the other is false: for the south-west is not a species of periodical wind, and consequently cannot be the specific name of one. There is a fallacy in the usage of this word, that at first is not so apparent: as long as it occurs in its original foreign garb Ευρακυλων, it is more easily taken for the specific name of this typhonic wind; being an unusual term, and seemingly not unapplicable to an uncommon subject. Strip it

⁹ We define things by general terms; but they are called by specific and particular ones.

it of it's primitive dress; that is, call it plain north-east, and refer it to the table of the winds, or it's place in the heavens: the fallacy then ceases, and the misapplication appears. It is curious to see the embarrassment of the first translators of the New Testament into *English* about this passage, *ventus Typhonicus, qui vocatur Euroaquilo*. Tyndale¹ and his followers sacrifice the letter to the sense, and call "it a flawe of wind out of the north-east;" taking no notice of the words, *qui vocatur*: —but anone after there arose agaynst their purpose a flawe of wynde out of the north-east. On the other hand Myles Coverdale,² Bonner, and others choose to abide by the letter, and so run into an absurdity. They translate it, *a flaw of wind which is called the north-east*. And *Hollybush, a tempestuous wind, which is called north-east*. But the translators afterwards, seeing this dilemma, had recourse to the original Greek; and remedied the difficulty by inserting the true reading.

But on the other hand, it is to be observed that the word *Euroclydon* is not attended with these improprieties: and though, by setting aside the former reading, this may seem sufficiently authenticated; yet I think it may be further proved to be the true reading from the tenour of the text — μετ' ο πολυ δε εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος: "not long after there beat upon it," says our translation indefinitely — beat upon what? certainly, *κατα νησιν*, upon the island *Crete*, under which they ran; for this is the last thing mentioned, that it can be referred to: "there beat upon the island a tempestuous wind called *Euroclydon*." Now, without doubt, when a storm comes upon a place, it must beat upon it, let it come from any point

¹ See Tyndale's Testament printed about the years 1528 and 1530, and the edition of 1536, 4to: also those in *Edward* the Sixth's reign. See likewise Grafton's great Bible 1541, overlook'd by Bp. Tonstall; and the translations from the version of *Erasmus*.

² The first edition of the Bible by Coverdale 1535. fol. New Testament under Bonner's inspection 1538 at *Paris*, dedicated to Ld. Cromwell. New Test. printed at *Southwerk* 1538.

point whatever. Yet, had the wind blown off from the shore, St. *Luke* would not have used the expression *εβαλε κατ' αυτης*, "beat upon the island;" because it is a relative expression, referring to the situation of the person who speaks of it, who was at that time to the windward or south of it. It is plain therefore, the wind blew upon shore; and must have come from the south or south-east. This is fully warranted from the point where the ship was, and the direction it ran in afterwards, which was towards the north and north-west, as I shall prove in the sequel. All these circumstances agree well with *Euroclydon*; but are not compatible with any other wind.

After saying, the *Roman* sailors might express the wind by the compound *Euroaquilo*, Dr. *Bentley* concludes; "Since therefore we have now found that *Euroaquilo* was the *Roman* mariners word for the Greek *Καικιας*"—This is most decisive work, from a supposed possibility to infer a certainty. But to proceed—"Since we have found *Euroaquilo* to be the true reading, there will soon appear a just reason why St. *Luke* calls it *ανεμος τυφωνικος*, a tempestuous wind, *vorticosus*, a whirling wind" &c. This is a great mistake, and the order of the terms are inverted. St. *Luke* does not call the wind *Euroaquilo* a tempestuous wind, but the reverse. He is made to call a tempestuous wind, *Euroaquilo*—"3 there beat upon it a tempestuous wind called the north-east"—which reading is so preposterous, that it ruins at once all Dr. *Bentley* has been labouring to establish. Such are the difficulties this learned man has involved himself in, to support a favourite reading: so hard it is to render a stubborn text pliant, and warp it to our wishes.

3 Εβαλε κατ' αυτης ανεμος τυφωνικος, ο καλυμενος Ευρακυλων.

O F T H E

I S L A N D M E L I T A.

HAVING thus dispatched, and, I hope, satisfactorily, what I first premised to take in hand, I come now to the second part, which was to ascertain the particular Island, on which the Apostle *St. Paul* was shipwrecked. This, one would imagine, could be attended with no difficulty: for it is very plainly expressed, that, after having been tossed for some time in the *Adria*, they were at last cast upon the island *Melite*. The only question is, which is the sea called *Adria* or *Adriatic*; and what island can be found in that sea mentioned by such a name.

The *Adriatic* sea is that large gulf that lies between *Italy* and the ancient *Illyria*, and retains it's name to this day. And as to the island we are in quest of, there was one in that sea called *Melite*, which is taken notice of under that name by the best geographical writers. *Scylax Caryandensis*, enumerating the islands of that sea, speaks of *Melite* very particularly; placing it not far from the river *Naro* and the neighbouring *Isthmus*, in the district of the *Nestians*, who were an *Illyrian* nation.¹ Πριν επι του Ναρωνά ποταμόν παραπλευσαι, πολλή χώρα ανηκει σφοδρά εις θαλάσσαν· και νησος της παραλιας χώρας εγγυς, η ονομα Μελιτη. He says it was twenty stadia from *Corcyra Melæna*, or the black *Corcyra*. *Agathemerus* taking notice of *Melite* and the adjacent islands, mentions them in this order:²

Εισι

¹ Vide Geogr. Antiq. Gronov. Lugd. Bat. 1700. pag. 18.

² Ibid. pag. 193.

Εἰσι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀδρια νῆσοι παρατὴν Ἰλλυριδα, ὧν ἐπισημότεραι Ἰσση, καὶ ἡ Μελαίνα Κορκυρα, καὶ Φαρος, καὶ Μελίτη. *Ptolemy* calls them *Dalmatian* islands, and enumerates them thus: ³ Ἰσση, Τραγυριον καὶ πόλις, Φαρία καὶ πόλις, Κορκυρα ἡ μελαίνα, Μελιτινή νησος. They are likewise spoken of by *Pliny*,⁴ who mentions *Brattia* and *Issa*; and says, *Ab his Corcyra, Melæna cognominata, cum Cnidiorum oppido, distat XXV. M. passuum; inter quam et Illyricum Melita, unde catulos Melitæos appellari Callimachus auctor est.* It is mentioned by *Antoninus*⁵ in his *Itinerarium maritimum*. From these authorities we find that *Melite* was an *Illyrian* island in the *Adriatic* sea, in the province of the *Nestæans*; and that it lay between *Corcyra nigra* and the main land, very near the river *Naro* and the *Isthmus* above it. It was called by the ancients *Melite*, *Melitene*, and ⁶ *Meliteusa*; at this day *Melede*, and by the *Sclavonians*, *Mleet*; and is in the jurisdiction of *Ragusa*. This was the place, to which *Agefilaus* the father of *Oppian* the poet was banished by *Severus*; upon a notion that he had not shewn that emperor proper respect.⁷ His son attended him during his confinement, and in that interval composed his *Halieutics* and *Cynegetics*, which some years after he carried to *Rome*. They gained him great reputation, especially with *Caracalla*, the succeeding emperor; who, together with the empress *Julia Domna* his mother, was complimented in these poems. The author was ordered to ask any gratuity: but he only requested his father's enlargement. This was immediately granted; and he was honoured with a piece of gold for every verse besides. As to the *catuli Melitenfes* mentioned by *Callimachus*, they are by some ascribed to *Malta*; but it is a mistake. These dogs were an *Illyrian* breed; and very common in *Ma-*

gna

³ Geogr. Lib. 2. ad finem.

⁴ Hist. Nat. Lib. 3. Cap. ult. Edit. Harduin.

⁵ Vide pag. 115. Edit. Lugdun.

⁶ Polybius apud Steph. Byzant.

⁷ Anon. vita Oppiani.

gna Græcia, and those places that had any correspondence with the *Greek* colonies in the *Adriatic*: but, of all others, they were in greatest esteem among the *Sybarites*, the most languid and indolent people upon earth; who made these animals attend them to the baths, carrying in their mouths the little implements for bathing.

There is a gem mentioned in the⁸ *Museum Florentinum*, with a representation of one of these dogs, and a short account of them subjoined. *Canum Melitæorum, quorum meminit Athenæus, Lib. 12. Cap. 3. ea laus fuit, sequi euntes ad balneum. Servi officium hi implebant, olei guttum et strigiles ferentes, quibus domini ungerentur destringerenturque; uti hæc rarissima et pulcherrima gemma ostendit.** This short account of the island I thought proper to lay before the reader; to shew that such a place existed, and to take off any prejudice that might arise from it's supposed obscurity.

From what has been said, the point would be settled past controversy, were it not for an island of the same name, situated at a great distance in the *African* sea. It has been the common opinion that the *Melite* now called *Malta* was the true place of the Apostle's shipwreck: and the natives have a tradition of long standing to support this notion. Yet, however general this may have been, I think it may be fairly proved that it could not be the island mentioned by the Evangelist. Herein I differ again from *Grotius*, *Cluver*, *Beza*, *Bentley*, and from⁹ *Bochart*, that curious, indefatigable, and particularly learned man. He has taken much pains to prove the tradition is well grounded, and that *Malta* is the place upon which *St. Paul* resided. But, in doing this, he takes many things for granted that cannot be allowed him; and speaks with too great a latitude: so that the whole seems a
force

⁸ Vol. 2. Tab. 20.

* See Tab. I.

⁹ See also *Jos. Scaliger de Emendat. Temp. p. 535. Colon. 1629.*

force and a strain, and can never be made to agree with the text.

The grand difficulty, and, indeed, an unfurmountable one, lies here; that, as *St. Paul* says expressly that the island he was cast upon was in the *Adria, Malta*, to be proved the place spoken of, must be made an *Adriatic* island. To effect this, the learned *Bochart* labours hard. He shews, first, that the sea we are speaking of incroached upon the *Ionian*; that it extended itself to the *Sinus Corinthiacus*: then, in order, it ingrossed the *Sicilian* sea and the *Cretan*: and thus, advancing step by step, he includes *Malta* within it's verge; makes the coast of *Africa* washed by it's waves; and would persuade you that *Leptis in agro Tripolitano* was situated upon the *Adriatic* coast. All this he does upon the authority of the poets, and a few of the later historians.

As for the poets, their evidence is not worth taking notice of: they make every thing subservient to measure. Yet, even of these, nothing he quotes comes up to his purpose. The learned writer seems to make use of their trespasses, merely to prepare the reader for what is to come; that he may not be too much shocked at the violence of the after-evidence. What *Ovid* and *Tibullus* say is only preparatory: *Philostratus* and *Pausanias* come but half way: those that speak to the purpose are *Procopius*, *Orosius* and *Æthicus*. These are they that advance the *Adriatic* to the confines of *Barca*; and by the same way of proceeding might make *Carthage* itself, if they pleased, an appendage to *Ragusa*.

But we ought to enquire of what rank and of what age the writers are, whose authority he appeals to: for, in producing the testimony of authors, it is not sufficient to be told what is said, unless we are likewise informed when, and by whom, it was delivered. We know that *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Pliny* tell another story: it is therefore necessary to consider the character of these persons that are to overturn
 I such

such established authority. If we make a just estimate of them, even with *Suidas* and *Hesychius* added to their number; (for they too are quoted) what will they be found? doubtless, writers of some eminence in their several times; so let them have their due: who lived, however, many centuries after the fact we are determining. So that all you can learn from their evidence in respect to St. *Paul* and his shipwreck is, how things were called four or five hundred years afterwards. This is the very utmost it will amount to; which is very little to the present purpose: for we must make use of the times we are treating of for a standard; and not be guided by the mistakes and extravagancies of after ages. The only way to arrive at the truth, is to learn the sentiments of the best authors who lived in, or near to, the times we are engaged in; and observe how things were defined and specified when the Apostle wrote. The learned *Bochart* would fain prove *Malta* to be an island in the *Adriatic* sea: I think I can shew his scheme to be impracticable. In doing which, I shall not descend for evidence to the fourth, fifth, or any lower centuries; but confine myself to the testimony of writers who were either contemporaries, or not many years antecedent or subsequent to the apostolic age.

As *Bochart* seems to be the fullest of any body upon this subject, and comprehends every thing that others have said in favour of it; I will lay before the reader the whole of his arguments in order.

¹ *Sed altera hinc sese offert majoris momenti quæstio, ad utram [Insulam] appulerit Paulus—*

Primo enim Act. 27. 13, 14. Circa Cretam cum navigaret Paulus, excitatur ανεμος τυφωνικος ο καλεμενος Ευροκλυδων, ventus turbulentus, qui vocatur Euroclydon; vel, ut legit Vulgatus interpretres, Ευροακυλων, Euroaquilo: quam lectionem si sequaris, res est confecta: neque enim Euroaquilo potuit è Cretâ navem in Il-
lyricum

¹ Geogr. Sacr. Pars alt. Lib. 1. Cap. 26.

lyricum impellere. Præstitisset id Euronotus, non subcontrarius Euroaquilo, ut docet situs locorum. Sed, quoquo modo legas, ventum illum Euroclydonem in Austrum inclinasse potius quam in Septentrionem inde palam est; quod, illo flante, nautæ metuunt ne in Africæ Syrtim incidant; *Æt.* 27. 17: nihil tale formidaturi, si ventus navem in Illyricum impulisset, quæ ora est Syrti et Africæ obversa.

2. *Æt.* 27. 41. περιπεσοντες εις τοπον διθλασσον επωκειλαν την ναυην; cum incidissent in locum bimarem, illiserunt navem. In locum bimarem, id est, in isthmum. Horatius *Od.* 7. *Lib.* 1.

Aut Ephesum bimarive Corinthi

Mœnia.

Ovid. *Eleg.* 10. *Lib.* 1. *Trist.*

Aut postquam bimarem cursu superavimus isthmum.

Hic isthmus ad insulæ ortum æstivum hodieque ostenditur, et vocatur ab incolis la Cala di S. Paolo, S. Pauli appulsus.

3. *Æt.* 28. 7. Circa locum illum erant χωρια τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς νηὸς, ονοματι Ποπλιῶ; prædia primo insulæ, nomine Publio. Eum intelligo, quem insulæ Romani præfecerant: nam hujus insulæ præfectos ita nominari solitos et ex hoc loco colligere est, et ex veteri epitaphio, quod in marmore Græcis literis se Melitæ vidisse refert Quintinus: Α. ΚΑ. ΥΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΙΠΠΕΤΣ. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. L. Ca. Filius. Cyr. Eques. Romanorum. Primus Melitensum. Nempe idem antea nominis fuerat præfectis Carthaginensibus, qui Punicâ phrasi dicebantur הראשונים, Primi.—

4. Tres menses continuos in illâ insulâ hæsit Paulus cum centurione et aliis, *Æt.* 28. 11; qui numerus hominum fuit CCLXXVI, *Æt.* 27. 37. Quod vix quisquam crediderit de Illyricâ Melite: quia, cum non nisi quatuor passuum millibus à continenti distet, et Epidaurum in conspectu habeat, portum celeberrimum et hospitibus commodissimum; centurio Romanus maluisset eò trajicere, quàm totam hiemem in miserâ insulâ degere, in quâ tam multos advenas sine gravibus incommodis diversari fuisset nefas.

5. Jam quod iidem dicuntur Puteolos veeti fuisse in Alexandrinâ

drinâ nave, quæ in eâdem insulâ hiemaverat, Act. 28. 11; quis de Illyricâ Melite intellexerit? cùm ab Ægypto Puteolos contendentes Africana Melite penè invitis sese offerat. At quisquis Alexandriâ Puteolos iturus Illyricam Meliten petit, meritò dici queat, sin minus toto cælo, saltem toto salo aberrâsse.

6. Hoc potissimum, quod Lucas è Melite profectos addit primò Syracusas, deinde Rhegium appulisse, *Act. 28. 12, 13: Quæ via, quàm est recta, si profectio fuit ex Africanâ Melite; tam flexuosa fuerit et præpostera, si ex Illyricâ discesserunt: è quâ potius per Rhegium Syracusas iter est, quàm per Syracusas Rhegium; quia Rhegium est vicinius.*

7. Jam, si auctoritate certatur, Constantino Porphyrogennetâ longè antiquior est Arator subdiaconus, qui sic habet, *Lib. 2. Historiæ Apostolicæ;*

Sicanio lateri tellus vicina Melite.

Nec difficile est solvere quicquid contrâ objiciunt. Nam in Adriâ quidem jactari dicitur navis appulsura Meliten, Act. 27, 27: non tamen in Adriatico sinu, quo multò latiùs patet Adria, seu, quod idem est, Adriaticum mare. Sinus enim Adriaticus cum Illyrico definit: at mare Adriaticum idem est cum Ionio. Hesychius: Ιονιον, πελαγος ὁ νυν Ἀδριας, Ionium, mare quod nunc Adria. Juvenalis vetus Scholiastes: diu navigatura de Tyrrheno mari ad Adriacum: Adriacum pro Ionio dixit. Ita enim Juvenalis;

Tyrrhenos igitur fluctus, lateque fonantem

Pertulit Ionium.

Hinc Ptolemæus Siciliam ab ortu, Epirum et Achaiam à meridie, et Peloponnesum adeoque Cretam ab occasu definit Adriatico pelago. Et in Ovidio non semel Adriam ab Ægæo dividit isthmus Corinthiacus. Sic Lib. 4. Fastorum:

Adriacumque patens latè bimaremque Corinthum.

Et Lib. 1. Trist. Eleg. 10.

Aut hæc me, gelido tremere cum mense Decembri,
Scribentem mediis Adria vidit aquis:

Aut postquam bimarem cursu superavimus isthmum,
Alteraque est nostræ sumpta carina fugæ.

Proinde

Proinde Philostratus, Lib. 2. Imaginum in Palæmone eum isthmum scribit Αἰγαίῃ καὶ Ἀδρίῃ μέσον κείσθαι, medium esse inter mare Ægæum et Adriaticum. Et in Apollonio suo, Lib. 4. Cap. 8. Neronem idem tradit de hoc isthmo scindendo cogitasse, ut Adriaticum Ægæo mari misceret. Eodem facit, quod Alpheus apud Suidam in Αλφειῶς, et rursus in Ἀρεθρῶα, è Peloponneso in Siciliæ Arethusam influere legitur δυνάμενος διὰ τῆς Ἀδριαδὸς θαλάσσης, pelagus subiens per mare Adriaticum. Hinc de Alpheo Pausanias in Arcadicis: Ἐμελλε δὲ αὖτε Ἀδρίας ἐπισχῆσαι αὐτὸν τὰ πρὸς ὤκρον: neque illius cursum Adria cohibitura erat: cætera ibi vide. Quid? quod Adriaticum mare ad Africam usque extensum est, si Æthiæ sequimur et Orosium; apud quos Tripolitana provincia, ubi Arzuges et Leptis magna, habet à septentrione mare Adriaticum: et à meridie Creta finitur mari Libyco, quod et Adriaticum vocant. Nec aliter sensit Hieronymus in vitâ Hilarionis, ubi medium Adriam pertranseunt ab Ægypti Parætonio ad Siciliæ Pachynum appulsuri. Sed ad rem id maximè est, quod in Procopii Vandalicis, Lib. 1. insulæ Gaulos et Melita Ἀδριατικὸν καὶ Τυρρηνικὸν πελάγος διορίζουσιν, Adriaticum et Tuscum pelagus determinant. Scitè igitur Sacer Scriptor et ex geographorum usu è Cretâ Melitam delatos vi ventorum ingruentium jactari dicit in Adriâ. Porro in eâdem insulâ barbarorum nomine Pænos ab illo designari docuimus, quorum reliquiæ in agris hæserant. Oppidi denique non meminit, quia nihil erat necesse. Ita Act. 21.1. Paulus appulisse narratur in insulas Coum et Rhodum, absque mentione urbium, quas tamen utraque habuit insulæ cognomines.

These are the arguments of Bochart in favour of Malta. In answer to which I will endeavour to shew, that it could not be the island, that this learned man supposes it to be, where St. Paul was cast away. And although, if this point be made out, it falls of course to the lot of the other island to be the place mentioned by St. Luke; yet I will not rest satisfied with this alternative: but, while I produce incontestable proof that Malta was not the place; I will bring as certain evidence that Melite Illyrica was.

It is to be observed, in the course of the foregoing arguments,

ments, that the whole depends upon this, whether *Malta* can be deemed an *Adriatic* island. As I have already in some measure anticipated this inquiry; I shall begin with it again, though it be rather the last in order. The other arguments I shall afterwards examine each in its turn.

First then I shall lay before the reader a short account of the *Adriatic* sea, as it was originally bounded, and as it was in process of time enlarged. In early ages it comprehended only the upper part of the *Sinus Ionius*, where was a city and a river, both called *Adria*; from one of which it took its name. It afterwards was advanced deeper in the gulf; but never so ingrossed it, as to obliterate its original name: for it is called *Sinus* and *Mare Adriaticum*, and *Sinus* and *Mare Ionium* by writers promiscuously for many ages. *Herodotus* calls the whole the *Ionian* gulf without limitation: ² Εκ δε τε κολπε τε Ιονια, Αμφιμνητος Επισροφε Επιδαμνιος· ετος δε εκ τε Ιονια κολπε. *Thucydides* speaks of it in the same manner: ³ Επιδαμνος εστι πολις εν δεξια εσπλεοντι τον Ιονιον κολπον. It was esteemed the same in the days of ⁴ *Theophrastus*. But when the *Romans* came to navigate this *Sinus*, they were more acquainted with the *Adria*, and called it accordingly by that name; allotting to the *Ionian* only the lower part of the gulf. And even *Greek* writers, who lived under *Roman* influence, copied them herein. Hence *Polybius* speaking of *Italy*, says, “to the east it is “bounded by the *Ionian* strait or passage, and the gulf of “*Adria*, that is contiguous and above it:” ⁵ την μεν μιαν οριζει πλευραν αυτης, την προς ανατολας κεκλιμενην, ο τ’ Ιονιος πορος, και κατα το συνεχες ο κατα τον Αδριαν κολπος. He then proceeds to inform us, that the *Ionian* strait reached south to the promontory *Cocinthus* in *Bruttia*, where was the commencement of

² Lib. 6. Cap. 127. Edit. Gronov.

³ Lib. 1.

⁴ Hist. Plant. Lib. 8. Cap. 10. Εν Απολλωνια γην τη περι τον Ιονιον ουκ εσθιεσθαι φασιν ολως κυαμον.

⁵ Lib. 2. Pag. 102. Edit. Casaub. Par. 1609.

of the *Sicilian* sea: το προκειμενον ακρωτηριον της Ιταλιας εις την μεσημβριαν, ο προσαγορευεται μεν Κοκινθος, διαιρει δε τον Ιονιον πορον και το Σικελικον πελαγος. As it extended northward, it comprehended the island *Sasò*, that was situated in it's entrance upwards: ⁶ νησον, η καλεται μεν Σασων· κειται δε κατα την εισβολην την εις τον Ιονιον πορον. Thus we have three seas, the *Adriatic*, the *Ionian*, and *Sicilian* very clearly specified. As yet we are a great way from *Malta*. Besides the *Ionian* gulf, which I should choose to distinguish by the title of the *Upper Ionian*, there was another sea of that name below, that occupied the whole space between *Sicily* and *Greece*, as well as between *Bruttia* and *Epirus*. This was the *Ionium Magnum*, or original *Ionian* sea. It began at *Tænarus*, and reached to the *Ceraunian* mountains. This must be carefully distinguished from that above. It was called by some the *Sicilian* sea, by others the *Cretan*: but properly comprehended both.⁷

I come now to writers nearer to the time we are speaking of. *Diodorus Siculus* mentions the *Sinus Ionijs* under the name *Ιονιος πορος*; and acquaints us that *Dionysius*, tyrant of *Sicily*, “built cities in *Adria* that he might secure this ⁸ passage, “and have an open and uninterrupted navigation to *Epirus*.” ⁹ Εγνω κατα τον Αδριαν πολεις οικιζειν· τϋτο δε επραττε, διανοουμενος τον Ιονιον καλυμενον πορον ιδιοποιεισθαι, ινα τον επι την Ηπειρον πλεον ασφαλη κατασκευαση. The *Ionian* gulf, we find, is termed by these two historians *Ιονιος πορος* or *Ionian* passage; because, in their time, the *Roman* armies as well as private persons passed over it from *Brundisium* to ¹ *Epidamnus* and the opposite continent. *Dionysius* the geographer likewise calls it the *Ιονιος πορος*: he places in it the islands of *Abfyrtus*;

Εξειης

⁶ Lib. 5. pag. 446. Edit. Casaub. Par. 1609.

⁷ Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. 4. Cap. 2. Edit. Harduin.

⁸ This was done to curb the *Illyrian* pirates.

⁹ Lib. 15. pag. 464. Edit. Stephan.

¹ At *Epidamnus* began the *Via Ignatia*, or grand road to *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. See Strabo. Vol. 1. pag. 496. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

² Ἐξείης δὲ, ποροῖο πρὸς αὐγὰς Ἰονιοῖο,

Ἀψυρτὲς νησῶν ἀναφαίνεται ἀσπετος ὄλκος.

Pliny will hereafter be found to agree exactly with these writers.

In the time of the second *Triumvirate* this sea still preserved its limits. This is evident from the partition of the empire between *Octavius* and *Antonius*, as it is mentioned in ³ *Appian*. This historian is in time posterior to the fact: yet in an affair of this consequence we may suppose him to be particularly accurate, calling every thing by its true name, and defining it by its just boundaries. *Appian's* words are these: 'Ο δὲ Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Ἀντωνίος τὴν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὴς ἀρχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἐμερίσαντο ἀπάσαν· ὅρον μὲν εἶναι σφισὶ Σκοδρὰν πόλιν τῆς Ἰλλυριδὸς, ἐν μεσῶ τ' Ἰονίᾳ μυχῷ μαλίστα δοκῶσαν εἶναι. " *Cæsar* and *Antonius* once more " divided the whole *Roman* empire between them; making " *Scodra*, a city of *Illyria*, the common boundary between " them; which was supposed to be situated as near as possible " towards the middle of the *Ionian* gulf." ⁴

We have made as yet but small advances towards *Malta* and the *African* shore: and there is reason to think we shall never reach it. For there are too many seas, too many promontories that interfere;

Ἐπεὶ μάλ᾽ ἀπολλὰ μεταξὺ

Οὐρεὰ τε σκιοεντὰ, θάλασσα τε ἠχηέσσα.

Ante et Trinacriâ lentandus remus in undâ.

The

² Περὶ γ. Verf. 487.

³ Lib. 5. Εμφυλ.

⁴ The truth is, *Appian* calls the whole *Sinus* the *Ionian* gulf: and not only *Appian*, but *Dio* in Lib. 41, and *Herodian* do the same. So far from extending the *Adriatic* to *Sicily* or *Malta*, they do not seem to allow that such a sea existed. *Herodian* particularly, in the march of *Maximinus* to *Italy*, describing the *Alps*, says they extended to the *Tuscan* sea on one side, and to the *Ionian* gulf on the other: καθήκειν, ἐν μὲν τοῖς δεξιῇς Ἰταλίας μερῶν, εἰς τὸ Τυρρηναίου πελάγος· ἐν δὲ τοῖς λαίαις εἰς τοῦ Ἰωνίου κόλπον.

The next person whose evidence I shall appeal to is *Strabo*, who was contemporary with *St. Paul*. In describing these seas, he begins from the south; and enumerates them in the order they lie from the *Syrtes* to the gulf of *Adria*. ⁵ Το μὲν ἔν προ τῶν Συρτέων καὶ τῆς Κυρηναίας καλεῖται ΛΙΒΥΚΟΝ κ. τ. λ. Το δὲ ΣΙΚΕΛΙΚΟΝ πελάγος προ τῆς Σικελίας ἐστὶ, καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπὶ το πρὸς ἑὼ μέρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τὴ μεταξὺ πορὴ τῆς τε Ρηγίνης μεχρὶ Λοκρῶν, καὶ τῆς Μεσσηνιας μεχρὶ Συρακῶν καὶ Παχυνος. “The sea that is before the *Syrtes* and *Cyrene* is called the *Libyan* &c. The ⁶*Sicilian* sea lies due east from *Sicily* and the bottom of *Italy*: extending upwards from the straits of *Rhegium*, as far as the *Locrians* on one hand; and the *Messenians* on the other, and from them down to *Syracuse* and *Pachynus*.” Αὐξεται δ’ ἐπὶ μὲν το πρὸς ἑὼ μέρος μεχρὶ τῶν ἀκρῶν τῆς Κρήτης· καὶ τὴν Πελοποννησον δὲ περικλυζει τὴν πλεισθην, καὶ πληροὶ τὸν Κορινθιακὸν καλεσμενον κόλπον· πρὸς ἀρκτὺς δ’ ἐπὶ τε ἀκρᾶν Ἰαπυγίαν καὶ το ⁷ ὅμα τε Ἰονίᾳ κόλπῳ κ. τ. λ. Ὁ δ’ Ἰονίος κόλπος μέρος ἐστὶ τῆ νυν Ἀδρίας λεγομενης, τὰ τε δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ πλευρᾷ ἢ Ἰλλυρίς ποιεῖ τὴν δ’ εὐωνυμον ἢ Ἰταλία, μεχρὶ τὴ μυχρὴ τε κατὰ τὴν Ἀκυληϊαν. “It reaches eastward as far as the headlands of *Crete*, washing great part of the *Peloponnesus*, and filling the *Sinus Corinthiacus*. To the north it extends as far as the *Iapygian* promontory and the beginning of the *Ionian* gulf &c. But the *Ionian* gulf is now esteemed part of the *Adriatic* sea: which sea is formed or bounded by the *Illyrian* coast on the right hand; by the coast of *Italy* on the left, as high up as *Aquileia*.” In another place he defines the *Adriatic* sea most precisely. ⁸ Μετὰ δὲ Ἀπολλωνίαν Βυλλικὴ καὶ Ὠρεῖον, καὶ το ἐπὶ-

νείον

κόλπον. Lib. 8. Cap. 2. *Cicero* likewise calls the whole the *Ionian* gulf. *Ut philosophi tanquam in superum mare Ionium defluerent, Græcum quoddam et portuosum; oratores autem in inferum hoc Tuscum et barbarum, scopulosum atque infestum, laberentur.* de Orat. 3. 19.

⁵ Vol. 1. pag. 185. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

⁶ *Strabo* calls the *Ionium Magnum* the *Sicilian* sea.

⁷ Χάονες, ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς Ἰονίᾳς κόλπου καὶ νήσος Σάσω. *Strabonis Epitome*.

⁸ Vol. 1. pag. 487. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

πειον αὐτῆς ὁ Πανόρμος, καὶ τὰ Κεραυνία ὄρη, ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς ὁμαλῆς τῆς Ἰονίας
 κόλπου καὶ τῆς Ἀδρίας. Το μὲν δὴ ὁμαλὴ κοινὸν ἀμφοῖν ἐστὶ, διαφέρει δὲ ὁ
 Ἰόνιος, διότι τῆς πρώτης μερὸς τῆς θαλάττης ταύτης ὀνομαζέται ἐστὶν ὁ
 δ' Ἀδρίας τῆς ἐντὸς μέχρι τῆς μυχῆς, νυνὶ δὲ καὶ τῆς συμπασης. " After
 " *Apollonia is Bullice and Oricum, and Panormus the magazine*
 " for shipping; then the *Ceraunian* mountains, where the
 " mouth or streight of the *Ionian* gulf and *Adriatic* sea com-
 " mences. These two seas have one common inlet: but the
 " *Ionian* differs from the *Adriatic*: because that is the name of
 " the first part of the *Sinus*; the *Adria* is the name of the in-
 " terior part, quite up to the farthest recess: but now it is the
 " name of the whole."⁹

I come next to *Pomponius Mela*, who was likewise of the
 same age. In recounting some of the cities towards the lower
 part of *Italy*, he mentions *Lupiae*, *Hydrus* or *Hydruntum*, the
 desert coast of *Salentum*, and *Callipolis*; after which he con-
 cludes, " here is the boundary of the *Adriatic*:"¹ *Lupiae, Hy-*
drus mons, tum et Salentini campi, et Salentina littora, et urbs
Græcia Callipolis: huc usque Adria. And, ² *Hellas—mari*
utroque, et Ionio magis, latera ejus intrante, donec quatuor
millia passuum pateat, &c. In enumerating some of the
 provinces of *Greece*, he proceeds in this manner; *Argolis,*
Laconice, Messenia, Elis, Achaia, Arcadia: then, beyond the
Sinus Corinthiacus, " *Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus*, as high up
 " as the *Adriatic*;" *ultra Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, usque in*
Adriam—The *Adriatic* was therefore above *Epirus*. To the
 same purpose he speaks in another place: *Deinde Ceraunii*
montes; ab iis flexus in Adriam: and concludes, that " in *Adria*
 " the first city was *Oricum*, the next *Dyrrhacium*;" *urbium prima*
est Oricum, secunda Dyrrhacium, Epidamnus ante erat.

This

⁹ *Strabo* takes no notice of the *Cretan* sea; but calls the whole interval
 between *Sicily* and *Crete* the *Sicilian* sea: he likewise does not mention the
 lower or great *Ionian*.

¹ Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

² Lib. 2. Cap. 3.

This is the evidence of *Mela*, a *Roman* and a contemporary; who must have known the boundaries of his own country more accurately than a foreigner; and the opinions of his own times better than writers three or four centuries after.

Pliny's evidence must have the same weight for the like reason: indeed, his authority is superior. He differs from *Mela* in some degree; dividing the *Sinus* into two seas, as *Strabo* and *Diodorus* had done before him; allotting the lower part to the *Ionian*, the upper to the *Adria*. ³ *In eo [sinu] duo maria, (quo distinximus sine) Ionium in primâ parte, interius Adriaticum.* He moreover marks out more particularly the upper *Ionian* sea, by informing us, it comprehended the island *Saso* or *Sasonis*; as well as the island of *Diomedes* on the other side, where it washed the coast of *Calabria* and *Apulia*. ⁴ *In Ionio mari ab Orico M. millia passuum Sasonis piraticâ statione nota.* And again, ⁵ *In Ionio—contra Apulum littus Diomedea.* And, speaking of *Hy-*

³ Nat. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 26. Edit. Harduin.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ *Pliny* speaks of the island of *Diomedes* as being in the *Ionian* sea; and mentions this particular circumstance, that the first plane trees that were introduced into *Europe* were brought to that island, and planted on the hero's tomb. These trees are certainly very beautiful; and if any species may claim the pre-eminence for their noble appearance, I should think we may give it to the plane. Yet *Pliny* seems to wonder at people for putting themselves to any cost to purchase merely shade. *Sed quis non jure miretur arborem, umbræ gratiâ tantum, ex alieno petitam orbe? Platanus hæc est, mare Ionium in Diomedis insulam, ejusdem tumuli gratiâ, primum inuenta: inde in Siciliam transgressa, atque inter primas donata Italiæ; et jam ad Morinos usque pervecta, ac tributarium etiam detinens solum, ut gentes vestigal et pro umbra pendant.* Nat. Hist. Lib. 12. If *Pliny* is in earnest, it gives me but a mean opinion of his taste; though I must honour him as a naturalist. It is mentioned of *Xerxes*, that, in marching through *Lydia*, he saw one of these trees, of so stately a growth and of so beautiful an appearance, that he was struck with admiration: and, before he quitted the spot, he decked it with ornaments of gold, and appointed a person of consequence, one of those called the immortals, particularly to tend and look after it; μελεδωνω Αθανατω ανδρι επιτρεψας. *Herod.* 7. 31. The *Romans* esteemed them highly, and instead of water
2 used

Hydruntum at the bottom of the gulf, he says it was "the boundary of the forementioned seas:" ⁶*Hydruntum ad discrimen Ioni et Adriatici maris.*—Not *discrimen inter se*, to distinguish the one from the other, as *Harduin* fondly fancies. No limit nor mark can distinguish two places both on the same side: but it was the boundary that separated them from the seas below; from the *Tarentine* and *Epirotic*, the *Sicilian* and *Cretan* seas; which last constituted the great *Ionian*. But *Pliny* seldom takes notice of it by that name; though he allows that the *Greeks* called it so: *Græci Ionium dividunt in Siculum ac Creticum ab insulis.* *Harduin* was misled by *Pliny's* calling it the *Ionian* sea, and not the *Ionian* gulf. But we must observe that it was seldom called *Sinus Ionus* or *Ιονιος κόλπος*, but by writers who suppose it to comprehend the whole gulf, such as *Thucydides*, *Theophrastus*, *Appian*, *Herodian*, *Dio*. When it is divided into two seas, according to *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Pliny*; it is then denominated *Ιονιος πορος* and *Ionium mare*. Yet,

under

used to refresh them with a profusion of wine. Of their attention in this respect we have a curious instance in *Macrobius*. He tells us that the two great orators *Hortensius* and *Cicero* were upon a time engaged in the same cause, where *Hortensius* was to take the lead. But when the hour came, he begged of *Cicero* to change turns with him, and plead first: for, says he, I must just step to *Tusculum*, and give my plane tree a little wine, and I will return immediately. *Saturnal. Lib. 3. Cap. 13.* Nothing can give us a stronger idea of the taste the *Romans* had for plantations than to see a zealous orator wave his priority, and for a time desert his cause, in order to tend a plane tree. There are said to be at *Jedo* the capital of *Japan* a species of these trees in the emperor's gardens, whose leaves are beautifully variegated with red and yellow and green, which afford a most pleasing appearance, *Kämpfer. pag. 524.* The reader will excuse me this digression, as it will afford him some relief in the course of the above dry inquiry.

I have mentioned that these trees were first imported, according to *Pliny*, into the island of *Diomedé*; which island lies pretty far in the great *Illyrian* gulf; and, being said to be situated in the *Ionian* sea, shews us what *Pliny* means by that sea, and how far, according to his opinion, it extended upwards in that gulf: consequently what he thought were the bounds of the *Adriatic*, which took up but half the *Sinns*.

⁶ Nat. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 11. Edit. *Harduin*.

under whatever name it comes, it must never be confounded with the great *Ionian*. That began at *Tænarus* and the *Strophades*, [*Insulæ Ionio in magno*] and comprehended, as I before mentioned, the *Cretan* and *Sicilian* seas; which *Pliny* takes proper notice of: *Græci Ionium dividunt in Siculum ac Creticum ab insulis. Lib. 4. Cap. 11.* In respect to the upper *Ionian*, *Strabo* intimates that it was properly called *Ιονιος κόλπος*, as originally possessing the whole *Sinus*; but that in his time it was esteemed but as a part of the *Adriatic*: nay, the *Adriatic* had in a manner engrossed the whole. As to the notion of *Bochart*, that the *Sinus* and *Mare Adriaticum* were distinguished from each other, the one being within the *Sinus*, and the other far without; it is a groundless supposition: nor is there the least shadow of authority for such an opinion in any author from *Herodotus* to *Pliny*.

From all the writers above we gain this uniform evidence; that the *Adriatic* sea was comprehended within the great *Illyrian* gulf, and never reached farther. *Strabo* in particular, who gives it as great an extent as any body, determines it, as I have before shewn, by two fixed boundaries that cannot be mistaken: ⁸ *την μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ πλευρᾷ ἡ Ἰλλυρίς ποιεῖ, τὴν δ' εὐωνυμὸν ἡ Ἰταλία*: it was included between *Italy* and the opposite continent. Where then was *St. Paul* shipwrecked? certainly between *Italy* and *Illyria*, that is, the opposite continent. Is ⁹ *Malta* to be found in this situation? It is far off, in a sea that

⁸ Vol. 1. pag. 185. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

⁹ If *Malta* could ever be deemed situated in the *Adriatic*, some writer or other must have taken notice of it as such. But it is always referred to *Africa*, and mentioned as an *African* island.

Insulæ sunt in Africam versæ, Gaulos, Melita, à Camarinâ LXXXIV. M. pass. à Lilybæo CXIII. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Edit. Harduin.

Mela speaks to the same purpose: *Africam versùs Gaulos, Melite, Corsura.* Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

Scylax says, *Melite* was a small island near *Hermæum Promontorium* to the east, reckoned among the appendages to *Carthage*.

Ptolemy

that has no affinity, no connection with these coasts. But the other *Melite*, taken notice of by *Scylax*, *Agathemerus*, *Pliny*, &c, is situated in the *Adria*, agreeable to the Apostle's account: therefore *Melite Illyrica* is certainly the island there mentioned.

This is a true account of the *Adriatic* sea in it's full extent; as I have taken it from the best authors that were either before the Apostle, or contemporaries with him. Whatever alterations may have been introduced in respect to it's limits a century or two afterwards, cannot affect the present subject. The extravagances of later ages are still less to be heeded: yet these are the authorities *Bochart* has recourse to; quoting no one writer of the Apostle's age, or before him, excepting the poets.

But there is another circumstance that writers upon this subject either totally omit, or pass over very slightly; which, however, is well worth our consideration, as it is a great confirmation of what I have been hitherto advancing. It is observable that, in speaking of the natives, the sacred writer never calls them *Μελιταιοι* or *Νησιωται*, but *Βαρβαροι*. The ancient *Greeks* called all nations, that were not of *Grecian* original, indiscriminately *Barbarians*. This continued for a long

Ptolemy—Πελαγαίαι δὲ νῆσοι εἰσὶ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς αἰδέ· Κοσσυρα νῆσος καὶ πόλις, Γλαυκωνος [by mistake for Γαυλωνος] νῆσος καὶ πόλις, Μελίτη νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ Μελίτη πόλις. *Geogr. Lib. 4. p. 100. Bertii. 1618.*

Cellarius—in *Africo mari Melite*. *Lib. 2. Cap. 12.*

Bochart himself ranks *Malta* among the *African* islands: *E pelagiis Africae insulis tres recensentur ad orientem Hermæi promontorii, Melita, Gaulos, Lampas*. He mentions the authority of *Ovid*, whose evidence amounts only to this; that, in his passage to *Pontus*, he wrote verses on both sides of the *Grecian* continent, that is, both in the *Adriatic* sea and the *Ægean*. But how does this relate to *Malta*, or make it an *Adriatic* island? *Ovid*'s testimony, when he speaks to the purpose, makes for the contrary side of the question:

Fertilis est Melite sterili vicina Cosyræ;

Insula, quam LIBYCI verberat unda maris. *Fast. 3. 567.*

under whatever name it comes, it must never be confounded with the great *Ionian*. That began at *Tænarus* and the *Strophades*, [*Insulæ Ionio in magno*] and comprehended, as I before mentioned, the *Cretan* and *Sicilian* seas; which *Pliny* takes proper notice of: *Græci Ionium dividunt in Siculum ac Creticum ab insulis. Lib. 4. Cap. 11.* In respect to the upper *Ionian*, *Strabo* intimates that it was properly called *Ιονιος κόλπος*, as originally possessing the whole *Sinus*; but that in his time it was esteemed but as a part of the *Adriatic*: nay, the *Adriatic* had in a manner engrossed the whole. As to the notion of *Bocbart*, that the *Sinus* and *Mare Adriaticum* were distinguished from each other, the one being within the *Sinus*, and the other far without; it is a groundless supposition: nor is there the least shadow of authority for such an opinion in any author from *Herodotus* to *Pliny*.

From all the writers above we gain this uniform evidence; that the *Adriatic* sea was comprehended within the great *Illyrian* gulf, and never reached farther. *Strabo* in particular, who gives it as great an extent as any body, determines it, as I have before shewn, by two fixed boundaries that cannot be mistaken: ⁸ *την μὲν ἐν δεξιά πλευρᾷ ἡ Ἰλλυρίς ποιεῖ, τὴν δ' εὐωνυμὸν ἡ Ἰταλία*: it was included between *Italy* and the opposite continent. Where then was *St. Paul* shipwrecked? certainly between *Italy* and *Illyria*, that is, the opposite continent. Is ⁹ *Malta* to be found in this situation? It is far off, in a sea that

⁸ Vol. 1. pag. 185. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

⁹ If *Malta* could ever be deemed situated in the *Adriatic*, some writer or other must have taken notice of it as such. But it is always referred to *Africa*, and mentioned as an *African* island.

Insulæ sunt in Africam versæ, Gaulos, Melita, à Camarinâ LXXXIV. M. pass. à Lilybæo CXIII. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 3. Cap. 8. Edit. Harduin.

Mela speaks to the same purpose: *Africam versùs Gaulos, Melite, Corsura. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.*

Scylax says, *Melite* was a small island near *Hermæum Promontorium* to the east, reckoned among the appendages to *Carthage*.

Ptolemy

that has no affinity, no connection with these coasts. But the other *Melite*, taken notice of by *Scylax*, *Agathemerus*, *Pliny*, &c, is situated in the *Adria*, agreeable to the Apostle's account: therefore *Melite Illyrica* is certainly the island there mentioned.

This is a true account of the *Adriatic* sea in it's full extent; as I have taken it from the best authors that were either before the Apostle, or contemporaries with him. Whatever alterations may have been introduced in respect to it's limits a century or two afterwards, cannot affect the present subject. The extravagances of later ages are still less to be heeded: yet these are the authorities *Bochart* has recourse to; quoting no one writer of the Apostle's age, or before him, excepting the poets.

But there is another circumstance that writers upon this subject either totally omit, or pass over very slightly; which, however, is well worth our consideration, as it is a great confirmation of what I have been hitherto advancing. It is observable that, in speaking of the natives, the sacred writer never calls them *Μελιταιοι* or *Νησιωται*, but *Βαρβαροι*. The ancient *Greeks* called all nations, that were not of *Grecian* original, indiscriminately *Barbarians*. This continued for a long

Ptolemy—Πελαγίαι δὲ νῆσοι εἰσὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας αἰδεΐ Κοσσυρα νῆσος καὶ πόλις, Γλαυκωνος [by mistake for Γαυλωνος] νῆσος καὶ πόλις, Μελίτη νῆσος, ἐν ᾗ Μελίτη πόλις. *Geogr. Lib. 4. p. 100. Bertii. 1618.*

Cellarius—in *Africo mari Melite*. *Lib. 2. Cap. 12.*

Bochart himself ranks *Malta* among the *African* islands: *E pelagiis Africae insulis tres recensentur ad orientem Hermæi promontorii, Melita, Gaulos, Lampas*. He mentions the authority of *Ovid*, whose evidence amounts only to this; that, in his passage to *Pontus*, he wrote verses on both sides of the *Grecian* continent, that is, both in the *Adriatic* sea and the *Ægean*. But how does this relate to *Malta*, or make it an *Adriatic* island? *Ovid*'s testimony, when he speaks to the purpose, makes for the contrary side of the question:

Fertilis est Melite sterili vicina Cosyræ;

Insula, quam LIBYCI verberat unda maris. *Fast. 3. 567.*

long time: but, after they had been conquered by the *Romans*, and as it were beat into good manners, they by degrees laid aside that saucy distinction, and were more complaisant to their neighbours. Hence we find that *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, and others who wrote after the decline of the *Grecian* power, seldom make use of this expression; unless the people they treat of are notorious for their ferity and rudeness. But, supposing a *Grecian* writer might continue this partial distinction, and look upon every country, but his own, as barbarous; yet *St. Paul* cannot be imagined to have acted so: he was no *Greek*; but a *Jew* of *Tarsus*, and in the same predicament as those that are spoken of. Whenever the Apostle calls a people barbarous, you may be very sure it was the real character of the nation. As these therefore are the only people in all the travels of *St. Paul* that are characterized in this manner; let us see to which of the two islands the title can with most propriety be applied.

We are informed by *Diodorus Siculus* and others that *Melite Africana* was first a colony of *Phœnicians*; and was afterwards inhabited successively by *Carthaginians*, *Greeks* and *Romans*. Who will be so hardy as to denominate any of these nations barbarous? They were each of them renowned for arts, of great power and wealth, and of particular elegance and refinement. As the ancestry was good, the posterity did not fall off. The testimony of *Diodorus Siculus* will sufficiently vindicate them from barbarousness: Ἰ Τὴς δὲ κατοικούντας τὰς ἡσυχίας εὐδαιμονίας· τεχνίτας τε γὰρ ἔχει παντοδαπὰς τὰς ἐργασίας· κρατίζου δὲ τὴς οὐραίας ποιούντας τῇ τε λεπτοτητὶ καὶ τῇ μαλακοτητὶ διαπρεπὴ τὰς τε οἰκίας ἀξιολογὰς καὶ κατεσκευασμένας φιλοτιμίᾳ γυίοις καὶ κονιαμασί περιττοτέρων. Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ Νῆσος αὕτη Φοινίκων ἀποικὸς. “The inhabitants of *Malta* are very happy in their
“circumstances; for they have all sorts of artificers for every
“kind of work: but they excel most in their manufacture of
“linen,

Ἰ Hist. Bibl. Lib. 5. pag. 204. Edit. Stephan.



Tab. I.

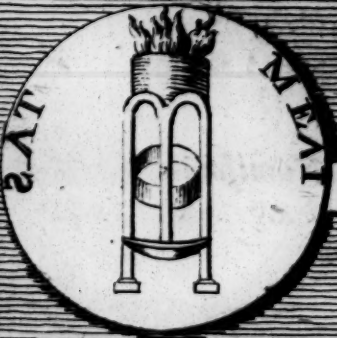
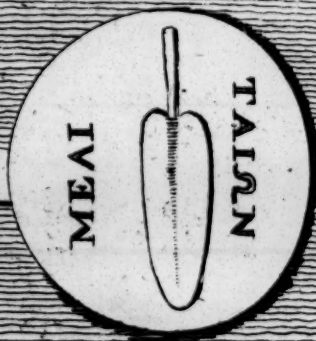
Canis Melitaus Balnearis

Ex Museo Bonar.



In Achate.

Tab. II.



“ linen, which is beyond any thing of the kind, both in the
 “ fineness of it's texture and it's softness. Their houses are very
 “ noble, being elegantly ornamented with pediments projecting
 “ forwards, and with the most exquisite stucco work. This island
 “ was peopled by a colony of *Phœnicians*.” He then proceeds
 to tell us that the *Phœnicians*, observing the goodness of it's
 harbours and it's particularly commodious situation, made use
 of it in their long voyages for a place of refuge and refresh-
 ment; which was the foundation of their affluence: δι' ἣν
 αἰτίαν οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτήν, εὐχρησόμενοι κατὰ πολλὰ διὰ τὰς ἐμπορίας,
 ταχὺ τοῖς τε βίοις ἀνεδράμον, καὶ ταῖς δοξαῖς ἠυξήθησαν: “ By which
 “ means the inhabitants, receiving vast emoluments from the
 “ merchants that put in there, soon made a figure in their way
 “ of living, and increased in reputation and splendour.” Where
 is here the least shadow of a barbarous disposition? So much
 the contrary, one would imagine the author was describing
Corinth or *Athens* in their glory: here is all their art and ele-
 gance, with a superior vein of industry. By good fortune,
 time has spared us some samples, to form a judgment of this
 people. ²The temples of *Juno* and *Hercules* appear by the re-
 mains to have been very magnificent, and of great extent:
 and the † coins that were originally struck there are said to
 be of no ordinary cast. Of this island was that *Diodorus*,
 whose character *Cicero* sketches out after his masterly manner.
 He calls him, ³ *Homo et domi nobilis, et apud eos, quò se con-*
tulit, propter virtutem splendidus et gratiofus: “ He was a man
 “ of rank in his own country; and made a great figure, and
 “ was

² *Quintinus* in 1532 says the ruins were three miles in circum-
 ference. See also *Fazellus de Reb. Siculis*, and *Jacomo Bozio*, Lib. quinto,
 parte terza: p. 90.

† See Tab. II. at pag. 25. *Fazellus* calls them *Numismata ænea*
affabrè facta. See *Parutæ Sicilia Numismatica*. Tab. 139. Lug. Bat. 1723.

³ Orat. 4. in Verr. Sect. 18.

“ was highly acceptable among those that he went over to, upon account of his eminent good qualities.” It is very difficult to give the full force of every word in *Cicero*. It is, however, very plain he has crowded together many happy circumstances, either expressed or implied, to embellish this *Melitenian*; rank, honour, virtue, splendour, urbanity; qualities that won him the heart of every body he conversed with. Such was *Diodorus of Melite*—*ab uno disce omnes*.

But it is said that some of the lower sort might still be rude and savage, though the people of rank were otherwise. But *St. Paul* experienced nothing but civility from the lower sort; nay, *ε την τυχεσαν φιλανθρωπιαν*, uncommon civility, as he himself witnesses. Therefore, if the common people are civil and humane, and their superiors polite and ingenious; ⁴ a general imputation of barbarism can never square with that nation. In short, take them separately or collectively, this stain is incompatible with the natives of *Malta*.

Let us now change the scene, and take a view of *Melite Illyrica*; and see if this appellation be more applicable there. This island is situated in the *Adriatic* gulf, near the river *Naro*, in the province of the *Nestians*, an *Illyrian* people. What is the character of these *Illyrians*? barbarous beyond measure;
so

⁴ A large and spacious region, however cultivated and civilized, may sometimes be skirted with rude and barbarous people. But even then, a traveller does not make use of the word *barbarian* indiscriminately; though he should, in journeying, meet with some of that cast. He would, surely, speak with limitation, and pay a little deference to the better part of the nation. But the island we are speaking of was so small, and the natives so civilized and industrious, that it is impossible any thing barbarous should have subsisted within their precincts. Whom, indeed, can we imagine these barbarous people to have been? “ The remains of “ the *Pæni*,” says *Bochart*, “ who still existed there, and lived in *agris*,” in the country part of the island. But why are we to suppose, in the most elegant little spot in the world, that there was a rude set of people, who led a brutal life by themselves, sequestered in the fields? What fields has *Malta*? and why must we take for granted these people were the *Pæni*, the offspring of *Tyre* and *Carthage*?

so that they are seldom mentioned without this denomination. *Thucydides*, speaking of *Epidamnus*, says it was "in the neighbourhood of the *Taulantii*, a barbarous set of people, a sept of *Illyrians*:" ⁵ *Επιδάμνος ἐστὶ πόλις—προσοικεσι δ' αὐτὴν Ταυλαντίοι βαρβαροί, Ἰλλυρικὸν ἔθνος.* *Polybius* mentions τὴν τῶν Ἰλλυριῶν παρανομίαν; and says that, in his time, "they did not seem so much to have feuds and quarrels with any particular nation, "as to be at war with all the world:" ⁶ *ὁ γὰρ τισιν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι τότε κοινὰς ἐχθρὰς εἶναι συνέβαινε τὰς Ἰλλυρίας.* *Diodorus* seldom mentions them, but he terms them *Barbarians*. Speaking of the *Lacedæmonians* giving them a remarkable check, he says, ⁷ *τὰ πολλὰ θράσος ἐπαύσαν τὰς βαρβαρὰς.* One *Illyrian* nation was called the *Dardanians*; of whom *Nicolaus Damascenus* ⁸ mentions an odd rule, which, I believe, no other body politick ever imposed upon itself: *τρεῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ λχονται μόνον, ὅταν γενῶνται, καὶ ἐπὶ γάμοις, καὶ τελευτῶντες.* *Strabo* speaks of the country as naturally good, but neglected and barren ⁹ *διὰ τὴν ἀγριότητα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὸ ληστρικὸν ἔθνος,* "on account of the savage disposition of the inhabitants, and the national turn to "plunder." They are represented as rude in their habits; their bodies disfigured with marks and scarifications by way of ¹ ornament; not given to traffick, and ignorant of the use of ² money. They are described as extending to the *Danube* north, and eastward to *Macedonia* and *Thrace*; comprehending a villainous brotherhood under different denominations—³ *Illyrii, Liburnique et Istri, gentes feræ.* Such were the

⁵ Hist. Lib. 1.

⁶ Hist. Lib. 2. pag. 100. Edit. Casaub. Item excerptæ Legationes: Sect. CXXV.

⁷ Lib. 14. pag. 464. Edit. Stephan.

⁸ Συναγωγή παραδοξῶν ἡθῶν.

⁹ Vol. 1. pag. 489. Edit. Amstel. 1707. *Herodotus* of the *Thracians*. Lib. 5. Cap. 6. Edit. Gronov. Το ζῆν ἀπο πολέμου καὶ λῆστευος καλλίστον.

¹ Strabo. Vol. 1. pag. 484. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

² Schol. in Dionys. Περιηγ. ad Vers. 97.

³ Liv. Lib. 10. Cap. 2.

the *Scordisci*, a nation bent on ruin; who are said to have made a beautiful country for seven days journey a desert. Add to these the *Bessi*, so supreme in villainy, that the banditti looked up to them, and “called them, by way of eminence, the thieves:” ⁴ ὑπο τῶν ληστῶν λησαι προσαγορευονται. In short, it is notorious that all the tract of *Illyria*, from the city *Lissus* north-west, was termed *Ιλλυρις Βαρβαρικη*; partly on account of the ferity of the inhabitants, and partly to distinguish it from the *Hellenic*, where the *Greeks* had made their settlements. It is observable that the islands upon this coast were noted for a desperate race of free-booters: and, what is most to the purpose, *Melite* and *Corcyra* particularly swarmed with pirates. They so far aggrieved the *Romans* by their repeated outrages, that ⁵ *Augustus* ordered the islands to be sacked, and the inhabitants put to the sword. This in great measure was executed. So that, when the Apostle arrived in these parts, the island must have been very much thinned, and the remainder of the people well disciplined.

Having drawn this unamiable picture of fierceness and brutality, I submit to the reader to determine, which of the two people here spoken of deserve most the title of *Barbarians*. *Melite Africana* had never, that I can find, the least pretence to the character: such an imputation can never be fixed upon it, without great injustice and impropriety. But this character must belong to one of the islands: it falls then of course to the lot of *Melite Illyrica*; which, upon inquiry, has every collateral circumstance to confirm the justice of the appellation. *St. Paul*, indeed, experienced much good will and civility from the inhabitants, and makes a due acknowledgement of their kindness; yet calls them *Barbarians* in the same acceptation that we call the natives of *North America* savages. Among these there have not been wanting instances of humanity:

⁴ Strabo. Vol. 1. pag. 490. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

⁵ Appian. de Bello Illyrico.

manity: but, as they are for the most part rude and uncivilized, they are comprehended under this general denomination.

Modern travellers⁶ report of *Malta*, that it harbours no serpents; a blessing, we are told, bequeathed to the island by *St. Paul* at his departure. *Cluver* seems to build much upon this; though he mentions the same circumstance of other places, such as *Galata* and *Ebusus*, where the Apostle never was. It is very certain that many islands, of small extent and removed far from the continent, are free from venomous creatures. If this be true of *Malta*, what they bring as a test of the Apostle's having been upon the island, is a proof to me that he never was there. As there are no serpents now; my conclusion is, that there never were any: consequently, it could not be the place where *St. Paul* exhibited the miracle. Thus we find that opposite and contradictory inferences are made from the same principles.

But it is said, they were afraid of falling upon the *Syrtis*: φοβούμενοι μὴ εἰς τὴν Συρτίω ἐκπέσωσι κ. τ. λ. *Bochart* infers from this, ⁷ that they could not be driven towards *Illyria*; because the wind that must carry them that way would rid them of all fears of the *Syrtis*. I make no doubt but it did; and that too very soon: for, though they were beating the seas many days, we hear no more of their apprehensions. This argument, however, seems to carry some weight with it, and therefore deserves to be examined. *Dr. Bentley* has before said, that *Euroaquilo* was "the very wind that would directly drive the ship from *Crete* to the *African Syrtis*, according to the pilot's fears in the 17th verse." *Bochart* is of the same opinion: yet neither of them expressly tells us which of the *Syrtes* is meant. Are we to suppose the greater *Syrtis*, or the less? or, with *Beza*, to understand by the word *Συρτίς* any sand

⁶ *Thevenot's Travels into the Levant. Part. 1. Cap. 5.*

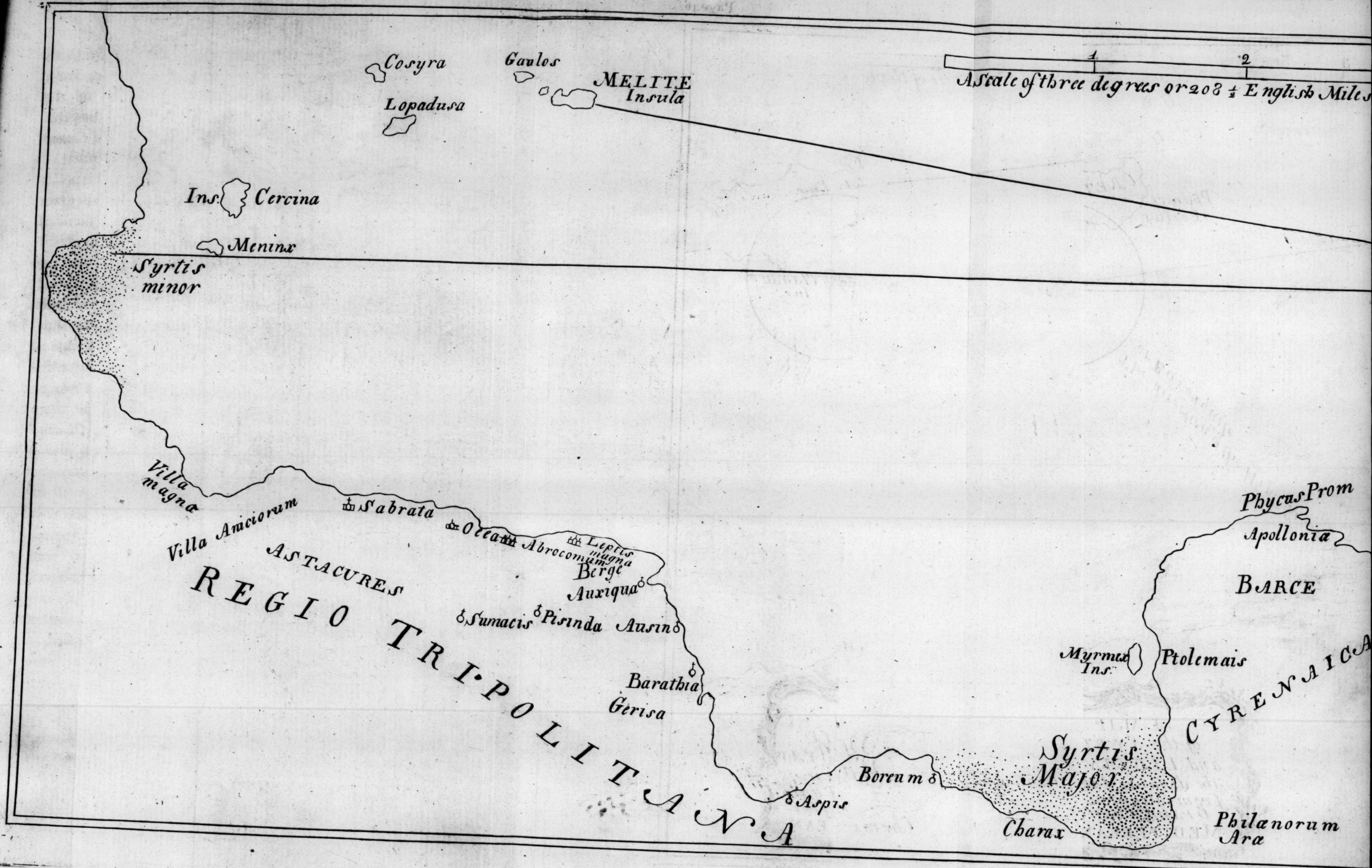
⁷ "*Quam lectionem si sequaris, res est confecta.*"

sand or shelf whatever? If we suppose the greater *Syrtis* to be here spoken of; that is at a considerable distance from *Clauda*: yet lies, however, nearly in the direction of the supposed *Euroaquilo* or north-east wind. But what has this to do with *Malta*? That island is situated in respect of *Clauda* to the north of the west; making an angle with the other of little less than a sextant of a circle. The course of the Apostle to *Malta* cannot be inferred from a wind that blew 50 degrees another way. Nor must we suppose the *Syrtes* to be blended together, and that any part of the coast may be understood here. The *Syrtes* were separated from each other; having between them the *Regio Tripolitana*, a large tract of inhabited country three hundred miles in length. This intervened, and sufficiently ⁸distinguished them. I take for granted that they mean the lesser *Syrtis*, because it is more in a line with *Malta*; but, on the other hand, it is at a much greater distance. Let us therefore suppose which we please; what are we to make of the word *φοβημενοι*? or how are we to reconcile their fears with their situation? They were under the island *Clauda*; that is, three hundred miles from the greater *Syrtis*, above two hundred leagues from the less. Surely, the alarm was full early, and the danger very remote, What *Dutch* or *English* vessel is in fear of the *Goodwin* and *Galloper*, before it is got into soundings? it is not a thing to be imagined. These writers therefore make a very wrong deduction from this circumstance: the word *φοβημενοι* means only a remote apprehension from the uncertainty they were in; not any immediate fear. Besides, had they been driven by the wind in the direction supposed, their fears would have increased in proportion as they approached the danger; which they were con-

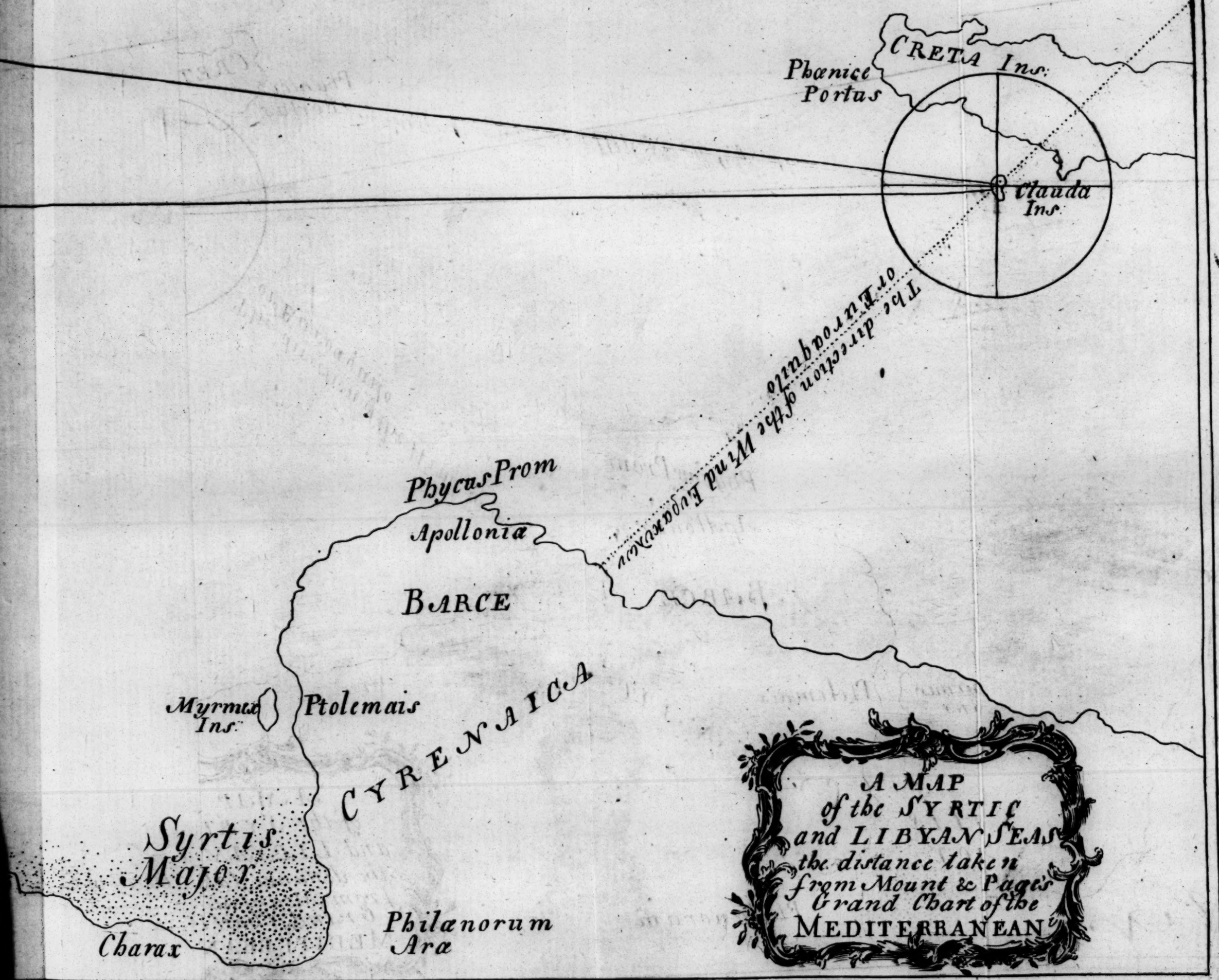
⁸ It seems to have been a country well peopled. *Ptolemy* mentions no less than eighteen cities in this interval between the *Syrtes*. It was famous on account of the emperor *Severus*: *Hic, provinciâ Tripolitana, oppido Lepti, solus ex Africâ usque in præsentem diem Romanus imperator fuit.* Euseb. Chron. Hieron. Interp. See also *Eutropius*.



A Scale of three degrees or 208 $\frac{1}{2}$ English Miles



1 2 3
A Scale of three degrees or 208 1/2 English Miles



continually doing, if they advanced towards *Malta*. But, as I said before, we hear no more of these fears, though they are supposed to have been beating about those seas fourteen days.

But it may be further proved from the text, that their course lay not towards *Malta* and the *Syrtis*, but quite a different way. This is manifest from the verb *εκπεσωσι*, which is very emphatical; *φοβουμενοι μη εις την Συρτιν εκπεσωσιν*. It is plain, that, when it is said of a ship, that it would *εκπεσειν εις πετραν* or *εις Συρτιν*, the meaning is, that it would be driven out of it's course, and so run upon the danger: otherwise it would be said *εμπεσειν* or *εμπιπτειν*, as we may learn from *Strabo* in speaking of these very sands. *Ἡ χαλεποτης δε και ταυτης της Συρτεως και της μικρας — συμβαινει τισιν εμπιπτειν εις τα βραχη και καθιζειν. — διοπερ πορρωθεν τον παραπλεον ποιουνται, φυλαττομενοι μη εμπεσοιεν εις τας κολπας.* “The difficulty both of this and of the lesser *Syrtis*” consists in this—it happens that many ships run directly upon the shallows, and are there stranded:—for which reason mariners generally sail along at a great distance, taking care not to fall into the gulf and be imbayed.” But *εκπεσειν* signifies to fall upon any thing contrary to your expectation and will, by erring and wandering from your original scope and destination. In this very chapter we have three instances of the word in this sense: verse 32, *Τοτε οι στρατιωται απεκοψαν τα σχοινια της σκαφης, και εισαν αυτην εκπεσειν*: verse 26, *Εις νησον δε τινα δει ημας εκπεσειν*: verse 29, *Φοβουμενοι τε μηπως εις τραχεις τοπας εκπεσωμεν*.¹ The ship's original direction then was manifestly in a different line from that which they were afraid of being

⁹ Vol. 2. pag. 1192. Edit. Amstel. 1707.

¹ The learned *Hutchinson* interprets this passage as I have done. See *Xenoph. Αναβ.* Edit. Hutch. 8vo. pag. 452. *Εκπιπτοντας. Eodem sensu adhibetur εκπιπτειν, Act. XXVII. 17, 26; nempe de navigantibus, qui, cursu proposito excussi, vel in brevia incidunt, vel in littus ejiciuntur.* See also pag. 541.

being carried in: for it could not run upon the *Syrtis*, without going out of its course: it was therefore never bound towards *Malta*; for that is nearly in a direction with the lesser *Syrtis*. The whole then of their apprehensions seems to have been this: They were in a violent storm, and had not either the sun by day, or the stars by night, to direct them: they could not therefore tell what wind they were borne by: it might vary every hour, and they not be sensible of it; as they had nothing to determine the point it blew from. In this gloom and uncertainty, not knowing which way they were carried, they were afraid they should be driven out of their course, and run upon one of the *Syrtes*. These sands were of great extent, and the terrour of the neighbouring seas: but it does not appear that they were at all driven that way, or ever near the quicksands.³ There is nothing in St. *Luke's* narration to induce us to make such a supposition; there is every thing to prove the reverse. Their course was originally for *Rhégium*; which they overshot, and were forced to take shelter in the *Adria*.

Another argument that *Bochart* brings to establish his opinion is taken from the words *τοπον διθ' αλασσαν*; which, he says, is an *isthmus* or neck of land, such as that at *Corinth*, which has the sea on each side: and he remarks that there is just such a one at *Malta*, called *la Cala di S. Paolo*. But, with submission to this learned writer, I differ from him intirely. For what does it at all signify to a ship that is to be run on ground,

² The wind *Euroclydon* was certainly a hurricane. These winds veer round, and blow from every point of the compass; but at last settle to one particular station, from whence they often rage with no less violence, but more steadiness, for a long time.

³ In our best charts of the *Mediterranean* there is laid down a shelf or sand not far from the island *Clauda*: this may possibly be the *Syrtis* they were in fear of. It lies to the south, a small matter out of their course; which must have been to the north of it.

ground, whether on the other side of the beach there be sea or land, wood or water? In respect to the grounding of the ship, it is matter of no consideration that the strand they drive upon has salt water on the other side. It is a circumstance they could scarce be acquainted with; and, after all, is saying nothing. For, make a section of an island any where diametrically; and it will be διθλασσος, being by its nature surrounded with water. What this learned man terms an *isthmus*, seems to me to be a point or small cape. Every bay has something of this sort; for it is the very thing that constitutes it.

5 *Portus ab Eöo fluëtu curvatur in arcum :*

Objectæ falsâ spumant aspergine cautes :

Ipsæ latet : gemino demittunt brachia muro

Turriti scopuli.

Homer gives the like description :

6 Εὐθ' ἐπεὶ ἐς λιμένα κλυτὸν ἤλθομεν, ὃν περὶ πύργῳ

Ἡλιβάτος τετυχηκε διαμπερές ἀμφοτέρωθεν·

Ἀκταὶ δὲ προβλήτες ἐναντιαὶ ἀλληλησίῳ

Εὐ σωματὶ πρὸς ἔχουσιν, ἀραιή δ' εἰσοδὸς ἐστίν.

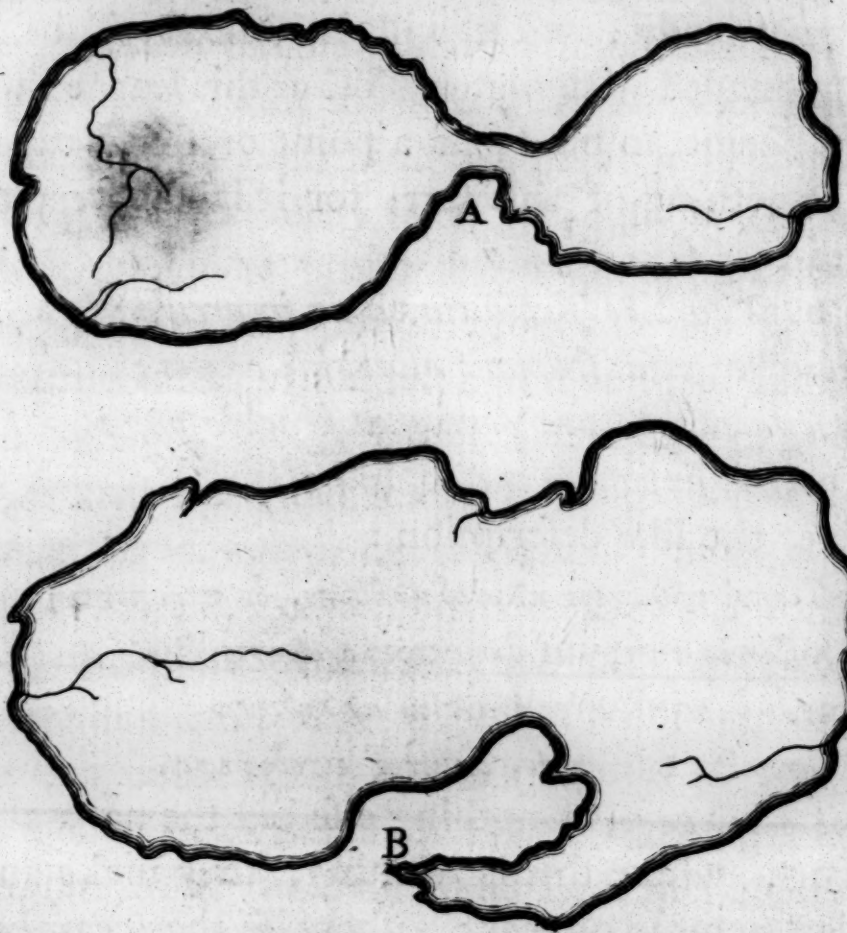
The τοῦπος διθλασσος is nothing else but the natural barrier of an harbour: where this is wanting, they make an artificial one, called a mole or pier: otherwise there can be no security for shipping, the harbour being little better than a road without it. Such a barrier or headland was here, which they endeavoured to get round and failed. This may be learned from the context: Περιπεσοντες δὲ εἰς τοῦτον διθλασσον, ἐπὶ κείλῳ τὴν ναὺν; where the word περιπεσοντες is as emphatical as the word ἐκπεσοντες was before: it signifies falling upon a place in taking a round or circuit. The mariners saw a bay, into which they had a mind to run their ship: but they met with

a

5 Virg. Æn. Lib. 3. Vers. 533.

6 Odyss. Lib. 10. Vers. 87.

a small promontory or ledge that projected, and formed the entrance into the bay; and which was washed on each side by the sea. This impeded them; and, in endeavouring to get round it, their ship struck, and stood fast,



A. The τοπος διθαλασσος according to Bochart's Idea.
B. The same according to the Author.

This is doubtless what the sacred writer means. There is a passage of *Dio Chrysostom* that confirms this interpretation of the word ⁷ διθαλασσος wonderfully: it is where he speaks of the *Syrtes* of *Africa* in his *Fabula Libyca*, and mentions the danger of being entangled among them. He says, ⁸ τοις δὲ
κατ-

⁷ Beza interprets τοπον διθαλασσον, *bimarem*, *isthmum*: but he explains it better by *une langue de terre entre deux mers*. Grotius calls it *tænia*.

⁸ Pag. 83. Edit. Casaub. Par. 1604.

κατενεχθεισιν ην ειναι τον εκπλεον δυνατον; that is, "when ships had
 " penetrated into the *Syrtes*, their retreat was intercepted;"
 βραχέα γαρ και ΔΙΘΑΛΑΤΤΑ και ταινιαι μακραι μεχρι πολλε διη-
 κσαι πανταπασιν απορον και δυσκολον παρεχουσι το πελαγος: " be-
 " cause shallows and ledges of rock or sand, and narrow riffs
 " that projected a great way rendered the sea dangerous and
 " impassable." From all which we may venture to affirm that
 τοπος διθαλασσος cannot be interpreted an *isthmus* in *Bochart's*
 sense; nor can any thing be inferred from these words in fa-
 vour of his opinion. As to the tradition, and superstition in
 consequence of it, which I wonder a protestant writer should
 build upon, it is not worth combating: only thus much I
 will say, that there is not a legend in *Spain* but has as good
 authority to maintain it.

In treating of a subject that is not controverted, it is suffi-
 cient for a writer to tender his own thoughts; and justify
 them by the best evidence he can produce: but where the
 point is disputed, there is something more required. It is
 necessary to state fairly whatever may be the opinions of others;
 whose notions must be canvassed, and their arguments and
 objections answered. As many of these arguments are often-
 times founded on conjecture, and of little weight; to go
 methodically through them is a process to the writer as pain-
 ful and unsatisfactory, as it is dry and unentertaining to the
 reader. Yet it is a work that must be proceeded with; or it
 will be thought that justice has not been done to those who
 maintain a contrary opinion. I have already taken notice of
 some of the most material arguments produced by *Bochart*:
 it is necessary now to consider those that remain. The fol-
 lowing is one.

It is observable that, in the island where *St. Paul* was cast,
 there was a governor named *Publius*, who was called Πρωτος
 της Νησε: and it is remarked that an inscription has been seen
 at *Malta*, wherein such a title is mentioned. This carries no

evidence with it; but is introduced as a plausible circumstance in favour of that island; since we are certified by this means that an officer of that character resided there. The inscription, as mentioned by *Bochart* from *Quintinus*, is very faulty. Λ. ΚΑ. ΤΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ. ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. It is quoted differently by *Grotius*, who gives it more fully, and somewhat more correctly. It begins thus. Λ. Κ. ΚΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΣ; which perhaps should be read, Λ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΣ, and then it stands thus;

⁹ Λ. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣ. ΚΥΡ. ΠΡΟΥΔΗΝΣ.

ΙΠΠΕΥΣ. ΡΩΜ.

ΠΡΩΤΟΣ. ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝ. ΚΑΙ ἱ ΓΑΥΛΩΝ.

ΑΡΞΑΣ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΕΥΣΑΣ.

ΘΕΩ. ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΩ.

The meaning of it, as I have altered it, is this: *Lucius Claudius Quirinius Prudens, Eques Romanus, Procurator Melitenfium et Gaulorum, Præses et Minister, Divo Augusto.*

This I take to be the true reading: but I cannot see what inference can be made from it; as there were very many places under the like government. The *Romans* delegated their authority in different degrees to variety of officers: they had *Prætores, Proconsules, Præfeti, Legati, Procuratores*. The *Greeks* tryed to adapt equivalent titles, such as *Ανθυπατοι, Ἡγεμονες, Πρωτοι &c.* This last I have translated *Procurator*, as being a governor of lower degree, and answering the nearest of any *Latin* term of office to the *Greek* before us. *Pontius Pilate*

⁹ *Tho. Reinesius* reads Λ. ΚΑΣΤΡΙΚΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΕΙΝΑ. Syntag. Francof. 1682. *Castricius* was no uncommon name, and possibly may be the true reading. It occurs in *Suetonius, Vopiscus, Pliny*, and others. *Porphyry* addresses his book *de Abſtinentiâ* to *Firmus Caſtricius*. *Claudius* is of fewer letters, and seems better adapted to the interval it is to fill up, if that be truly delineated by those who have copied the inscription. That ΚΥΡ. is *Quirinius* appears probable from an inscription at *Gaulos* mentioned by *Gualtherus*. It begins thus: M. VALLIO. C. F. QVIR. RUFO.

¹ *Grotius* reads ΠΑΤΡΩΝ: *Abela*, ΙΑΤΡΩΝ. The true reading is undoubtedly ΓΑΥΛΩΝ.

Pilate is called Ἡγεμῶν; but was only a *Procurator*, as appears by *Tacitus*, who styles him *Procurator Judææ*. I am justified in this interpretation and in one of the alterations above by an inscription of the same place, mentioned, I think, first by ² *Gualtherus*, and afterwards by ³ *Spon.* It begins, *Chrestion Aug. L. Proc.*—which must be read *Chrestion Augusti Libertus, Procurator*: and it will then appear thus;

CHRESTION. AVG. L.

PROCVRATOR. INSVLARVM.

MELIT. ET. GAVL.

COLVMNAS. CVM. FASTIGIIS. ET. PARIETIBVS.

TEMPLI. DEÆ. PROSERPINÆ.

VETVSTATE. RVINAM. 4IMMINENTIBVS,
RESTITVIT.

SIMVL. ET. PILAM. INAVRAVIT.

That is, “*Chrestion*, a freedman of *Augustus*, *Procurator* of “the islands *Melite* and *Gaulos*, repaired the pillars together “with the roof and walls of the temple of the goddess *Proserpine*, that through age were ready to tumble down: he “likewise gilded the ball.” From all which we find that *Malta* was, as I have before observed, a place of elegance, and had many fine buildings; and that the chief *Roman* governor was called *Procurator*: but nothing farther can I gather from this article.

Bochart would indeed persuade us that Πρωτος was the real title of the governor: he speaks of it as if it was peculiar to this place, and not in use any where else.—*hujus insulæ Præfectos ita nominari solitos et ex hoc loco colligere est, et ex veteri epitaphio.* But this is all a mistake: the true title of the supreme magistrate was certainly a *Roman* one, probably the term *Procurator*, of which Πρωτος is a translation. The *Greeks*,
not

² *Rerum Sicularum et adjacentium inf. tabulæ Maltanæ.* 1625.

³ *Misc. Erudit. Antiq.* pag. 191.

⁴ Read MINANTIBVS or MINITANTIBVS.

not having any word precise enough to express this dignity, substituted the general term *Πρωτος*; which, so far from being the real title, is but an inadequate copy of it, and may be adapted to *Proconsul*, *Legatus*, &c, with equal propriety. *Bochart* seems to have forgot that this was a *Roman* magistrate; and speaks of the *Greek* term of office, as if it were the *Latin* original; introducing at the same time *Carthaginian* evidence to shew the propriety of it. The *Romans*, in appointing their officers, did not follow *Phœnician* or *Carthaginian* precedents.

I come now to an argument that consists of many particulars; which, that I may not do it injustice, I will set down at large. *Tres menses continuos in illâ insulâ hæsit Paulus cum centurione et aliis, Act. 28, 11; qui numerus hominum fuit CCLXXVI, Act. 27, 37. Quod vix quisquam crediderit de Illyricâ Melite; quia, cum non nisi quatuor passuum millibus à continenti distet, et Epidaurum in conspectu habeat, portum celeberrimum et hospitibus commodissimum; centurio Romanus maluisset eò trajicere, quàm totam hiemem in miserâ insulâ degere; in quâ tam multos advenas sine gravibus incommodis diversari fuisset nefas.*

5 The author's reasoning in this place is founded too much on
sup-

5 It is a disagreeable task to be finding out blemishes in an author, that has deserved so well of the learned world as *Bochart*; and who has employed his talents to so good a purpose. But I should be guilty of injustice to the cause I am engaged in, if I suffered any mistakes even of so great a man to pass unnoticed, especially when they are of consequence to my subject. In the small extract, quoted above, there are no less than six assertions, that have not the least authority to back them. Not to mention, that, by his manner of speaking, one might be induced to imagine, that *Epidaurus* was not above four or five miles from *Melite*, which would be a great mistake; it is sufficient,

That he says, it was within sight of it:

That it was a very famous sea-port:

That it was very commodious for strangers to go to:

That a *Roman* centurion would certainly have passed over to it:

That *Melite* was a miserable spot: and,

That 276 persons could not have subsisted there three months without great difficulties: — all this of a place he was little acquainted with; whose name only he seems to have known.

supposition, and is attended with some mistakes. It is to be observed, he does not produce one single voucher for any thing that he has said. It seems, *Julius* would not have stayed in the island, had it been the *Illyrian Melite*; but would have quitted such a wretched spot for *Epidaurus*. *Julius* was a centurion; and had a great charge of prisoners, that it highly concerned him to take care of. Which situation would they be most secure in? upon an island, by it's nature surrounded with water? or in a barbarous town upon the continent? and which would a *Roman* soldier in those circumstances consult, his convenience, or his duty? He speaks of *Melite* as a wretched island; but produces no authority for it. That it was rather a poor place and of little repute, I believe: but this is a circumstance, I think, in favour of my argument. For it seldom happens, that a matter of fact transacted in a part of the world which all are acquainted with, is transferred to another, that is scarce ever heard of. But a transaction, that has been done in a place very obscure and remote, may easily by mistake be attributed to one more obvious and better known; especially when it is of the same name. Had the Apostle been shipwrecked at *Malta*; the other island would have claimed no title to the honour. But as it happened to be upon a spot little known; people have referred it to another, that they were better acquainted with. *Melite* consists at this day of six towns or hamlets, whose inhabitants are in number about two thousand. It has some good harbours; is productive of corn, wine, fruits, (but in no great abundance) and has plenty of fish: of one sort, called the *Sardines*, it has a remarkable fishery. Authors vary about it's dimensions, extending it from twenty five to forty miles in length; but I believe the former number is nearer the truth: and it is said to be twelve miles in breadth.⁶ This is, from the best accounts,

the

⁶ "L'isle de Meleda, nommée par quelques anciens Melita, où
 "l'on nourissoit les petits chiens propres pour les dames, appelez Me-
 "litées,

the state of the island now; and there is no reason to think but it was much the same of old. As to *Epidaurus*, the *portus celeberrimus et hospitibus commodissimus*, I can say nothing to it; as I do not recollect any particular account to this purport or the contrary. A writer that travelled that way in the 16th century, speaks thus of *Ragusa*: *Portum habet tutissimum, sed manu factum, nec satis amplum*. He afterwards tells us that "at some distance was old *Ragusa*, the ancient *Epidaurus*;" "which, being burnt by the *Goths*, was deserted by the natives, who retired higher up the gulf, and built the new city:" *Haud procul ab urbe ortum versùs vetus Ragusa, Epidaurus olim dicta, deserta penè et ædificiis infrequens. Hæc, à*

Gothis

"litées, et par quelques autres *Meligene* ou *Melitine*, est assise au levant de *Curzola*, et longue de 30 mille; mais peu habitée, et seulement renommée pour le grande quantité de *Sardines* qu' on y pèche. *Davity*. Tom. 3. pag. 1165. Par. 1660.

"L' isle de *Melita* est la plus grande: car elle a soixante milles de tour; mais elle est fort pierreuse, et ne produit de vin. Quant à l' isle du milieu, elle ne contient que sept milles de circuit; et est fort fertile en recompense. Il n'y en a point, qui ayent de si bons ports, et dont les habitants soient plus riches. Voiage de levant par le *Sieur Des Hayes* fait 1621. à Paris 1645.

Spon says, *Epidaurus* was 12 miles from what is now called *Ragusa*: "Deux milles au delà il y a un village appelé *Ragusa Vecchia*, qui étoit l'ancien *Epidaur*." *Davity* says, about six miles: "Ragouze Vieille assise au levant de la Nouvelle à quelques 6 mille delà—La Nouvelle Ragouze—assise à 50 mille de l' isle de *Curzola*." Tom. 3. pag. 1160.

Melita, insula maris Adriatici, Dalmatiæ adjacens, inter oram illius et Corcyram Melænam 12 mill. pass. quot patet in latitudinem, longa 50: canibus Melitæis, qui olim in deliciis, nobilis. Ab Epidaur 70 mill. pass. *Nunc Meleda, Sclavis Mliet, cum oppidulo cognomine. Hoffmanni Lexic. Universale.*

Melita, Melitæ, altera insula Dalmatiæ in mari Adriatico, nunc Meleda ab Italis, et M'liet a Sclavis, est prope Corcyram Melænam et oram Dalmatiæ; ab eâ quinque millibus in meridiem, sub republicâ Ragusinâ. Extenditur ad 24 millia ab ortu in occasum; et 25 mill. à Ragusis urbem in occasum distat. Alphonsus Lazor a Varea. See also Unversus terrarum orbis delineatus. 2 Vol. Patavii 1713.

See *Isolario di Benedetto Bordone. Venet. 1584.*

7 *Joannes Cottunius, Iter Hierosol. 1598. Antverp. 1619.*

⁸ *Gothis devastata et diruta, nunquam hætenus restituta est.* From hence I conclude that *Epidaurus* was not that commodious port as is supposed. For I should think the natives would not have gone out of their way to form a new harbour at some expence and labour, if there had been a good one ready made to their hands. It is said that they were but four miles from the continent: it certainly is little more than four or five miles. But can you always land upon the coast? and, when you are landed, are there no marshes nor rivers, no impediments in a wild, uncultivated country, to obstruct your march? and are you always sure of arriving in good time at a place of plenty and security? Yes: *Epidaurus* is within view. This is a great mistake: *Epidaurus* lies to the east, out of sight, as is certified by the best authors. This we may learn from the distance of *Meleda* to *Ragusa*: some make it 30, some 50 miles.⁹ *Epidaurus* must be still further: and, as we know not what part of the island the Apostle was cast upon, some allowance must be made for that. What the precise distance is, I cannot ascertain; doubtless, no inconsiderable tract for shipwrecked people to pass over upon a dangerous¹ coast, and in

⁸ They were the *Sclavi* and *Abares*, here called *Goths*. In the reign of *Heraclius*, *Dalmatia* was ravaged by these nations. See *Const. Porphyrog. de administrand. Imp.* Cap. 36. He mentions the inhabitants going from *Πιταυρα* or *Epidaurus* to *Raufis* (*Ραυσις*). Cap. 29.

⁹ *Antoninus* in *Iter. Marit.* makes it about 25 miles: *A Melitâ Epidaurus Stadia CC.*

¹ That the *Adriatic* was a sea of dangerous navigation we learn from many writers. *George Sandys* calls it a sea "tempestuous and unfaithful; at an instant incensed with sudden gusts, but chiefly with the southern winds." *Wheler* experienced it's fury in a bad storm, that he there encountered. He mentions many rocks between *Meleda* and *Ragusa*. pag 27. *Joan. Cottunius* did the same. After the victory gained by the *English* over the *Spanish* fleet at *Messana* in the year 1718, some ships were ordered up the *Adriatic* by the *English* admiral: but they soon returned, finding it too stormy and dangerous a sea for ships of burden to abide in.

in a stormy season. But, it seems, their very necessities would force them away: for the number of persons landed was no less than two hundred seventy six; "too many to have subsisted" there without the greatest inconvenience: "*In quâ [insulâ] tam multos advenas sine gravibus incommodis diversari fuisset nefas.*" But for this assertion he brings no authority: and without authority it is unreasonable to subscribe to it. We have seen encampments in the *Isle of Wight*; and we read of *Saxon* and *Danish* armies wintering in the *Isle of Thanet*, which are both of small dimensions. If these islands could for some months support three or four thousand men; why should not an island as large or larger maintain two or three hundred for the same time? But, after all, how do we know that they could get away? Methinks, this article deserved some consideration.

Boat
Joan. Lucius mentions the difficulty of navigating the sea about *Epidaurus*. pag. 25.

Doubtless it is impossible at this distance of time to determine with any certainty about the goodness of this island, or those in it's neighbourhood. Yet some judgment may be formed of what they probably were in the time of the Apostle, from what they have been for some centuries past; the nature of the soil and temperature of the air being, I suppose, at all times much the same. *Constantinus Porphyrogenetes* speaks very much in their favour. Πλησιαζουσι δε αυτοις νησοι τεσσαρες, τα Μελετα, τα Κυρκυρα, η Βαρτζω, και ο Φαρος, καλλισται και ευφοριωταται, ερημοκρα εχουσιν και ελωνας πολλας. Οικουσι δε εν αυταις, και εχουσιν τα κτηνη αυτων, και εξ αυτων ζωσιν. Cap. 30. To the same purpose speaks *Palladius Fuscus de Situ oræ Illyricæ*: *Curzula insula ambitu sexcentorum stadiorum, pinastris redimita, et aquis abundans, fert frumenta vinaque, et alia usui necessaria præter salem et oleum—adeoque benigni soli et temperati æris existit, ut ferat etiam mala Medica et siliquas. Ab eâ decem et octo millia passuum distat Melita, canibus olim celebrata, qui, auctore Plinio, Melitæi sunt appellati; quamvis Strabo id alteri Melitæ, ante Pachynum Siciliae promontorium sitæ, tribuat. Sed Illyrica, circuitu colligens octingenta stadia, vini et pecoris abundantissima est.* pag. 156. *Palladius Fuscus cognomento Niger, Rhetor, floruit circa 1450.* See *Joan. Lucius de regno Dalmatiæ et Croatiae*. Davity has before mentioned a great fishery for *Sardines*. All these authorities should have been considered, before the island had been pronounced so very barren and inhospitable.

Boat they had none: their ship was lost: what method could they make use of, to transport themselves to *Epidaurus*? How was the centurion *Julius* to manage?

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μὴν παρὸν οἴονται ἐνθάδ' ἵκεσθαι.

Before we are so determined about people's motions, we should be sure of the means and possibility of conveyance. In short, to finish this dry argument, we are morally certain that not only the persons with the Apostle, but others likewise from *Alexandria* did not hesitate to winter upon the spot at the same time. They seem too to have been a large body; if we may judge from their ship, that was afterwards capable of taking in so many supernumeraries. The island, that is presumed to be incapable of supporting one ship's company, seems to have been sufficient to supply two ships with every thing to their satisfaction. We have therefore no reason to think it so despicable as has been imagined.

Pardon me, says *Bochart*; I make no such inference: the very circumstance here urged proves that this could not be the place of the Apostle's shipwreck: for a ship bound from *Alexandria* to *Puteoli* could never go so much out of it's way—*quisquis Alexandriâ Puteolos iturus Illyricam Meliten petit, merito dici queat, sin minùs toto cælo, saltem toto salo aberrâsse*. And again—*cum ab Ægypto Puteolos contenditibus Africana Melite penè invitis sese offerat*. Here is a twofold mistake. First, it is imagined that what was done was matter of choice: the author speaks *quasi petebant insulam*, as if they had made to the island designedly; whereas the ship, it is plain, had lost it's passage by stress of weather: driven, probably, by the same storm the Apostle was, and forced to winter where they could best secure themselves. In the storm they had overshot the freights of *Rhegium*, and were obliged to take shelter in the *Adriatic*. In the next place, it is said that, in going from *Egypt* to *Puteoli*, mariners must almost, whether they will or

no, run upon ³*Malta*. Yet, after all, *Malta* makes but a poor figure, when fairly defined: lying nearly east and west, and projecting a front of about eleven miles, where widest; and that, towards the most extensive part of the *Mediterranean*: so that it is but a poor mark to hit, and that in a very wide field. But this is not all. The misfortune is, that the common course from *Alexandria* to *Italy* was quite a different way: not, as *Bochart* imagines, by *Malta*, and by the southern coast of *Sicily*, which was a very dangerous track of navigation: ⁴ but quite otherwise; the mariners keeping as far away as possible, and never coming within many leagues of that sea. What their rout was, I will describe from the course of a ship bound, as they were, from *Alexandria* to *Italy*; as it is mentioned in a dialogue of *Lucian*, referred to before under the title of Πλοιον η Ευχαι. This ship, of which I have made some mention above, set sail from the *Nile* with a brisk gale; and on the seventh day had got as far as *Acamas*, the western promontory of *Cyprus*. Here the wind came full against them; and they were obliged to run obliquely up to *Sidon*. From thence they shaped the very same course as the ship of *St. Paul*; running under the coast of *Pamphylia*, where they were very near being lost upon the *Chelidonian* rocks. They then coasted *Lycia*; and got as high as *Cnidus* in the tract of the former ship. But, whereas the Apostle's ship turned off to the left, to get shelter in *Crete*; this, finding it had lost its voyage, stood cross the *Ægean* sea for *Attica*, and after much difficulty came to anchor in the *Piræus*. This was effected

seventy

³ *Bochart* says, *Malta* lies in the very line that all ships went in that sailed to *Italy*. The Apostle says, the island he was to be driven to, was not in that line, but quite another way: Εἰς ὕψιστον δὲ πάλαι δὲ ἡμᾶς ἐκπεσεῖν: that is, "the island we shall be cast upon is out of our true course and "direction." Every circumstance evinces that *Malta* could not be the island.

⁴ *Insula est Melita — satis lato ab Sicilia mari periculosoque disjuncta.* Cic. Orat. 4. in Verr. Sect. 46.

seventy days after they had set sail from the *Pharos*: at which time, says one of the persons in the dialogue, it ought by right to have been in the mouth of the *Tiber*. For, says he, instead of holding the course they held, they should have ran close under *Crete*, keeping it on their right hand; then have turned up to the promontory *Malea* in *Laconia*: after which their course was too plain to need describing. For, from the *Peloponnesus* they were to stand over for the streights of *Messana* and *Rhegium*, and so prosecute their voyage to *Puteoli* or *Rome*. *Virgil* makes his hero take the same course towards *Italy*; who, though his poem is in great measure a fable, yet, I suppose, copied the truth or the semblance of truth, whenever he could introduce it.

Upon *Bochart's* principles one might argue, that this ship's coming to *Attica* and the *Piræus* must be a mistake: for it was certainly *Malta* that it arrived at: because *Attica* is quite out of the way for any ship to touch at, that is bound from the *Nile* to the *Tiber*—*toto cælo et toto salo errant*, &c. But ships that lose their passage cannot always choose their haven of retreat: they are at the will of the winds, and are sped at their direction.

There is no greater fallacy, than what arises from forming notions about the fitness and expediency of things, at the distance of time, that we have been speaking of; and in respect to seas and countries, that we are but little acquainted with. The only way of proceeding is to go by authority and example, where they are to be had. If they are not to be found; the best way is to be silent: if they are to be met with, it is unpardonable not to make use of them. I have given one instance of a ship, whose true course towards *Italy* is described. Another is to be found in *Josephus*, where *Herod*, in his voyage from *Alexandria* to *Rome*, went nearly the same course as the ship, wherein the Apostle was cast away. ὁ ἀναχθεὶς ἐν ἐκείνῳ

ΕΤΤΙ

ἐπὶ Παμφυλίας, καὶ χειμῶνι σφοδρῶ περιπεσὼν, μόλις εἰς Ἱθάκην διασώ-
 ζεται, φορτῶν ἀποβοῆς γενομένης. Καὶ δύο μὲν ἐνταῦθα τῶν φίλων
 αὐτοῦ συνήντησαν, Σαππινᾶς τε καὶ Πτολεμαῖος. Ἐυρὼν δὲ τὴν πόλιν
 ὑπὸ τῷ πρὸς Κασσίον πολέμῳ κεκακῶμενην, ἐδ' ἀποροῦ ὡν εὖ ποτεῖν αὐτὴν
 ἀκνήσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ δυνάμιν αὐτὴν ἀνεκτάτο. Τριηρὴ τε κατασκευάσας,
 καὶ ἀναχθεὶς ἐντεύθεν συν τοῖς φίλοις ἐπὶ Ἰταλίαν, εἰς Βρεντησίου κατὰ-
 γεται.

It is observable that the island we have been writing in fa-
 vour of was called not only *Melite*, but *Melitene*: which leads
 me to consider an error that has crept into the *Vulgate*; where
 the Apostle is said to be shipwrecked on the island *Mitylene*.
 This is plainly a mistake; and a person the least versed in cri-
 tical knowledge will see at once what the original reading was,
 and how it should be corrected. *Mitylene* is the capital of
Lesbos, and quite in a different sea. It is, doubtless, an error
 for *Melitene*, brought about by a small change and transposition
 of a letter; or, for *Melétine*, from *ΜΕΛΗΤΗ*, which seems to
 have been the true name of the *Illyrian* island, it being called
 at this day *Melede*, and by the *Sclavonians* *Mleet*. A manuscript
 of the *Liber⁶ Apostolicus*, brought from *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, has
ΜΕΛΗΤΗ; and *Arator Subdiaconus*, though he misapplies the
 name, pronounces it nearly in the same manner *Melite*.
~~remis vicina Melite.~~

Hence *St. Jerome* has *Militine*, agreeing very nearly
 with *ΜΕΛΗΤΗ*, the reading of ⁸*Ptolemy*. Now this is a
 name not at all applicable to *Melite Africana*; there is no
 instance of it's ever having been called so: but it is what
Melite Illyrica is often denominated by: *Melitene* is a
 name

⁶ A MS in my hands, intitled, *Liber MS vulgò dictus Apostolicus*,
Αποστολικὸν Βιβλίον, et Πραξαποστόλος &c. *Fuit quondam hic Codex Ecclesie*
Archiepiscopi Heracleæ in ora Propontidis sitæ.

⁷ De nomin. *Hebræis*. Venerable *Bede* calls the island *Miletus*. *Eodem*
die natale Sancti Publii Athenarum episcopi, qui princeps insule Miletis, cum
navigantem &c. *Vide Martyrologium; XV. Cal. Febr.*

⁸ *Geogr. Lib. 2.*

name applicable to that island, and to that alone. It was called *Μελιτη*, *Μελιτινη*, *Μελιτινη*, and *Μελιταουσσα*, and, as some say, *Meligena*: whereas *Malta* is said to have been called *Melivetus*, *Milivetus*, *Maltach*, and *Maltacia*. Hence, I think, we may from the *Vulgate* decide the point in question; as we find there a very early evidence in our favour, probably as old as the third century. The island in debate is pretty clearly determined by this interpretation.

One thing more I have to offer; and I shall then conclude. Upon a supposition that the Apostle wintered in the *Adriatic*, every

Μελιταουσσα, πολις *Ιλλυριας*: *Polyb. apud Steph. Byzant.* I suppose, the chief town of this island. The memorable passage of *Constant. Porphyrog.* concerning *Melite Illyrica* may, I think, be corrected from *Polybius*. It stands thus: *Νησος ἑτέρα μεγάλη τῇ Μελίτῃ, καὶ τῇ Μαλοζεατῇ. ἡ δὲ καὶ Πρεξεί τῶν Ἀποστόλων ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς μέμνηται, Μελίτην ταύτην προσαγορεύει.* Cap. 36. Is not *Μαλοζεαταί* a transposition and change of a few letters for *Μαλετουσσα* or *Μελετουσσα*?

Isolario di Bened. Bordon. Ven. 1534, and Davity. But it is thought to have been so called erroneously. See *Burchard Niderstedt, Malta vetus et nova*. Whatever it may have been called, it was never called *Melitene*.

It is remarkable no copies of the *Vulgate* have *Melite*. I have examined most of the early editions of the *Latin* version; and they all have *Mitylene* or *Mytilene*, with scarce any other variation. The edition printed by *Fust* and *Schoiffer* in 1462 at *Mentz*, and all those of *Venice* and *Nuremburg* to 1490 have this reading, one only excepted. This could not be the effect of chance. As there were two islands called *Melite*, it was certainly the translator's intention to distinguish that which was honoured with the Apostle's presence: and, to prevent any mistake or confusion, he calls it by a more peculiar name, that could not be applied to the other; i. e. *Melitene* or *Melitine*, for so it originally stood. This was the translator's design: but bigotry and prejudice have got the better of his precaution. The edition, that I have excepted out of the general list, is that printed at *Venice* 1493; which retains the true reading *Mylitine*, which is nearly as it stood originally in the *Vulgate*: *Et cum evasissemus, tunc cognovimus quia Mylitine insula vocabatur.* It is likewise retained in the *Coptic* version. See *Novum Testam. Egypt. hoc est, Copticum*, published at *Oxford* 1716 by *David Wilkins*; where the name of the island is expressed *Μελετινη*. The *Syriac* printed *Cathenis Anhaltorum* has *Meliti*. The *English Bible* too printed by *Wolfe* in 1549 expresses the true name of the place: "And when thei wer scaped, then thei knew, that the yle was called *Milete*."

every thing that happened afterwards, when they set sail, is plain and to be accounted for. St. *Luke* says they embarked on board an *Alexandrine* ship, that had wintered in the same island: that they sailed first to *Syracuse*; and, after tarrying three days, they set sail again; and, by taking a compass, they got to *Rhegium*. The learned *Bochart* makes use of these circumstances to prove that the Apostle could not have been near the coast of *Illyria*: whereas these occurrences are what must have happened from the situation we suppose them to have been in there. I would only ask what wind a ship would require on the *Illyrian* coast, to carry it through the gulf of *Adria*. A child with a chart before him would tell you it must be a wind from the north. But will such a wind be favourable for the streights of *Messana*, and to go to *Puteoli* or *Ostia*? No; it requires a contrary wind to what they set out with: and they must either beat the seas, or make to some port. We accordingly find the ship went to *Syracuse*; and after three days (whether the wind was more favourable, or they were tired with waiting, is uncertain) they ventured to sea again: and, περιελθοντες, "fetching a compass," taking a good circuit to the east, they gained the advantage of a side wind, and got to *Rhegium*. Here a south wind sprung up, as fair as they could wish; and they arrived the second day at *Puteoli*. Supposing they set sail from *Malta*, the whole is very unsatisfactory, not to say unintelligible. We can assign no reason for their stay⁴ at *Syracuse*; nor for their taking such a circuit to get to *Rhegium*: because it is certain that the wind they sailed with

⁴ *Grotius* thinks, they went to *Syracuse* to traffick. But these ships of *Alexandria* were under great restrictions; their chief commodity, if not the whole of their cargo, being corn, which *Rome* was in much need of. The *Romans* were always very careful about this article; in later times particularly severe. See *Cod. Justin. Lib. XI. Tit. 27. de frumento Alexandrino*.

No ship was to be excused the service; *nec si caeleste contra proferatur oraculum. Lib. XI. Tit. 3.*

with round *Cape Passaro* to *Syracuse* would have been equally fair for *Rhegium*; and could scarce have failed carrying them even to *Puteoli* or the *Tiber*.

Thus have I gone through the disquisition I first purposed; and have endeavoured to support my arguments with the best authorities, and place them in the clearest light. In the mean time, I am sensible there may be some prejudice against what I have been urging, on account of the great eminence of the persons, whose opinions I controvert and oppose. Among others, *Bentley*, *Grotius*, *Beza*, *Bochart*, *Cluver* are men of great name, that have ever been esteemed writers of the first rank in the times they lived: it will hardly be imagined that men of such universal learning could be mistaken in a point they professedly made their study. But we must consider the grand scope they had in view, the ample field they were conversant in; where a person of the most extensive knowledge might sometimes be bewildered and lost. The more universal their study was, the less attentive they must have been to particulars; and, consequently, may sometimes have been guilty of oversights and mistakes that human frailty cannot guard against: which mistakes we often see detected and amended by persons of less extensive knowledge and smaller abilities,

Those who encroached upon the banks of the *Nile* were to be burnt alive. Lib. IX. Tit. 38. *Honorii et Theodosii*. See particularly Lib. XI. Tit. 1, 5. on mariners going out of their course. *Qui fiscales species suscepit deportandas, si, rectâ navigatione contemptâ, littora devia sectatus eas evertendo distraxerit, capitali pœnâ plectetur.*

And Lib. XI. Tit. 1, 6. *Judices, qui in partibus Diœceseos suæ onusta navigia, cum prosperior flatus invitat, sub prætextu hiemis immorari permiserint, unâ cum municipibus et corporatis ejusdem loci, fortunarum propriarum feriantur dispendiis. Naucleri præterea pœnam deportationis excipiant, si aliquid fraudis eos admisisse fuerit revelatum.*

These laws, though of later date, yet sufficiently show, of what consequence this article was. The mariners at all times were obliged to make the greatest dispatch: and the centurion *Julius* had too great a charge, and too much authority to suffer any delay, especially after a detention of so many months.

abilities, who followed their footsteps, and gleaned after them.

The clearing up these difficulties may be thought by some a circumstance of little consequence, and possibly of less entertainment. But it must be considered that the determining any point of Scripture is always attended with advantage. In the investigation of any sacred truth we see continually fresh evidence arise; some new light break in; that strengthens and illustrates beyond the point in view. It matters little whence it proceeds: it is ever pleasing to a serious and inquisitive mind, and cannot but be profitable in the end. The most minute inquiry and elucidation tends to a confirmation of the whole. There will be likewise seen this advantage resulting from what I have laid before the reader; that he will, I believe, find the seas I have been treating of, with their boundaries and abutments, together with the changes in different ages they underwent in respect to those limits, more clearly and precisely determined here than has been any where else observed.

It may likewise be entertaining to reflect, how much the art of navigation is improved, and with what dispatch now a days commerce is carried on. In former times they only made coasting voyages, never willingly losing sight of land. The *Νηες σιτοφοροι* or *σιταγωγαι* were particularly heavy and slow. The ship mentioned by ³ *Lucian* set out with a fair wind, and was seven days in getting to *Cyprus*: and it was judged seventy days sail to the *Tiber*. An *English* levanter with a steady gale would put boldly before the wind, and run in that space from *Jaffa* to the *Lizard*.

But, what is a more serious consideration, we may learn from hence how strict an examination the Scriptures are capable of undergoing. No history has stood the test that the sacred writers are made to bear. And in these inquiries it is very satisfactory to observe by the collateral evidence, as it coin-

³ See Dial. Πλοιον η Ευχαι.

coincides, that things must necessarily have happened in the manner they are represented. It may likewise serve to display to us the credulity of the church of *Rome*; and shew on what weak foundation their faith is established. A mistake being once made between two islands of the same name, how many forgeries are introduced in consequence of this one error! all which are recommended by their clergy as truths to be highly revered. This is strongly evidenced by the editors of the 4 *Rhemish* testament: who were not content to give their readers a mangled translation of the *Vulgate*; but they must annex to it the 5 legends of their church, to corrupt it still

4 The New Testament printed at *Rhemes* 1582, by *John Fagny*. This translation was made for the use of the *English* papists by *William Alyn*, who was afterwards a cardinal and archbishop of *Mecklin*. He is said to have been assisted in this work by *Richard Bristow* and *Gregory Martin*; the same that wrote a dissertation on the true pronunciation of the *Greek* language. The author of the notes is said to be *Thomas Worthington*. There was a confutation of this translation written by *Thomas Cartwright*, author of the *Admonitions to parliament*. See *Lewis's* Hist. of the *English* translations of the Bible, pag. 293. and *Wood's Athenæ Oxon*.

5 They have fainted *Publius*, whose hand they pretend to shew for a relick. *Manduca* the *Jesuit* has gone so far as to write his history. And, not content with forcibly bringing *St. Paul* hither, they make him attended with *Luke* and *Trophimus*; which last, they say, took up his residence in the island. In the city *Valetta* is a monument and inscription raised by *Abela* to his memory. They shew a fountain that *St. Paul* caused to flow out of the rock; and near it a stone, with some not inelegant verses:

Hæc sub rupe cavâ, quam cernis ad æquoris undas,

Exiguus trepidat fons salientis aquæ.

Religione sacrâ latices venerare, viator;

Naufragus has dederit cum tibi Paulus aquas.

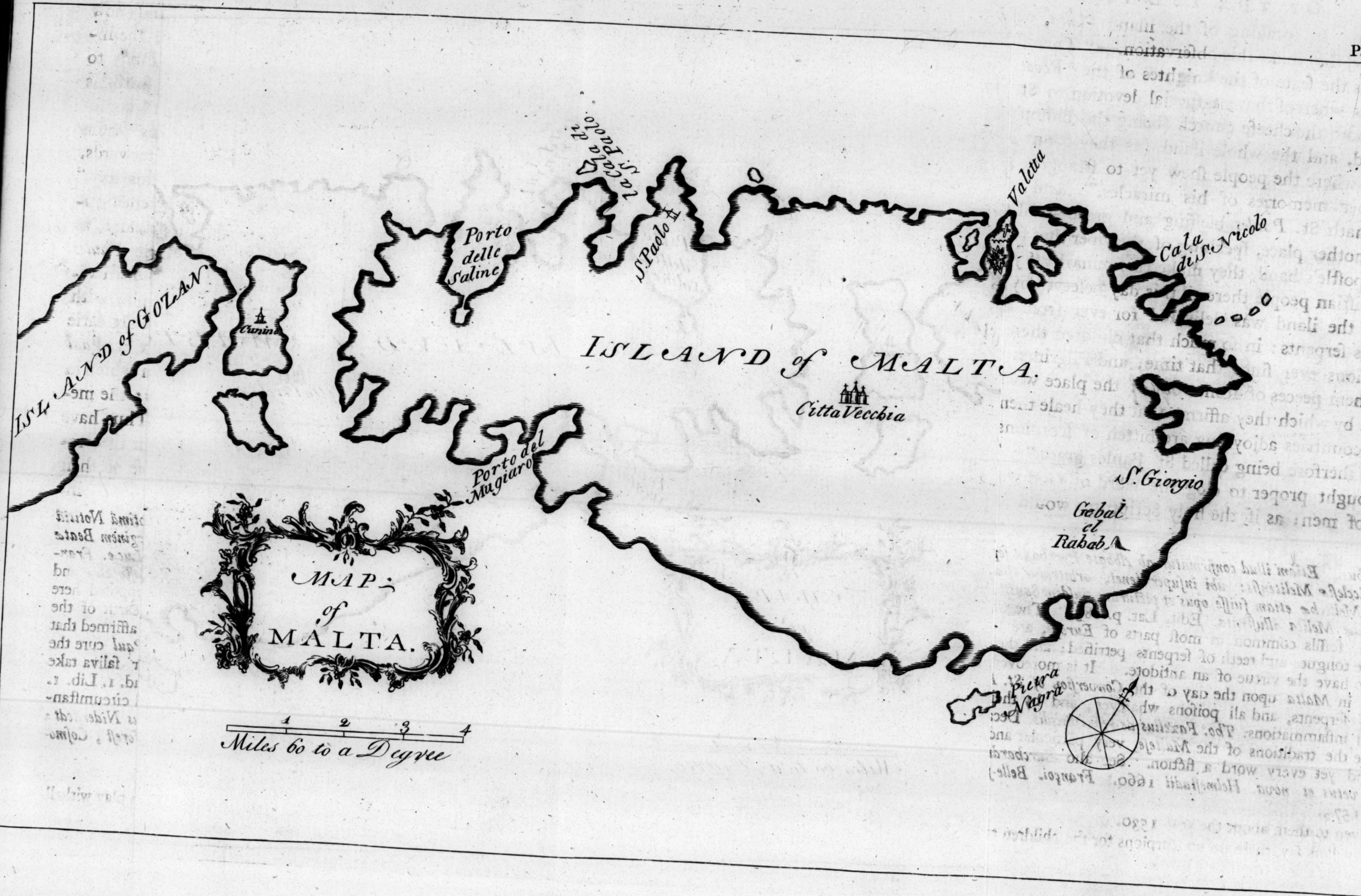
Dionysius Carthusianus assures us, *St. Paul* founded a church at *Malta*; and, what is more extraordinary, that he dedicated it to the Virgin *Mary*. *Abela* reports the same circumstance: *Dedicata fuit prima Ecclesia in Melitâ a Sancto Paulo sacratissimæ Virgini Mariæ; cujus imaginem depinxisse Sanctum Lucam Evangelistam, socium Apostoli in peregrinatione et naufragio quod hîc passus fuit, ex antiquâ traditione statuitur et tenetur a*

still farther. In speaking of the island *Malta*, which they call *Mitylene*, they make this observation.—“ This island (now “ *Malta*) is the seate of the knightes of the ⁶ *Rhodes*: the inhabitants whereof have a special devotion to *St. Paul*; to whom both the cheefe church (being the bishop’s seate) is dedicated, and the whole iland (as they count it) consecrated: where the people shew yet to strangers his prison and other memories of his miracles.” And afterwards, “ *Malta* hath *St. Paul*es blessing and grace until this day.” And in another place, speaking of the viper that fastened upon the Apostle’s hand, they make this remark: “ yea, and (as “ the christian people there til this day beleve) by *St. Paul*es “ praier the iland was delivered for ever from al such venomous serpents: in so much that children there play with “ ⁷ scorpions ever since that time; and Pilgrimes daily carie “ with them peeces of stones out of the place where *St. Paul* “ abode, by which they affirme that they heale them which in “ other countries adjoyning are bitten of scorpions: the medicine therefore being called *St. Paul*es grace.” Thus have they thought proper to clog the word of God with the traditions of men; as if the holy Scriptures would lose of their in-

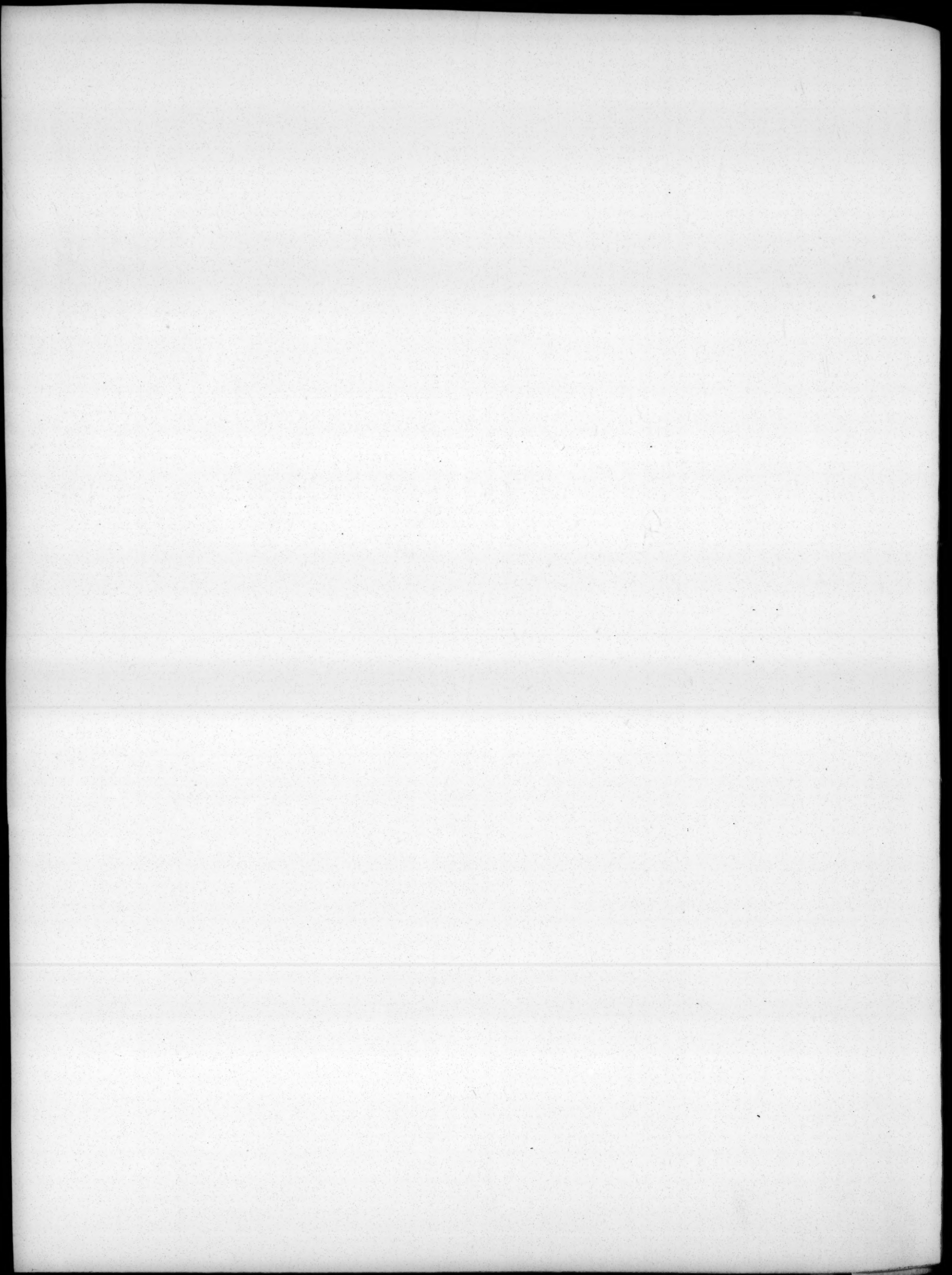
Melitenfibus. Etiam illud confirmatur ab Abbate Pyrrho in septimâ Notitiâ nostræ Ecclesiæ Melitenfis: ubi insuper tenet, arbitratur imaginem Beatæ Virginis Melleckæ etiam fuisse opus et picturam ejusdem Sancti Lucæ. Francisci Abelæ Melita illustrata. Edit. Lat. p. 185. The Glossopetræ and Bufonitæ, fossils common in most parts of Europe, are supposed here to be the tongues and teeth of serpents petrified; and the earth of the island to have the virtue of an antidote. It is moreover affirmed that all born in Malta upon the day of the Conversion of St. Paul cure the bites of serpents, and all poisons whatever; and by their saliva take away all inflammations: Tho. Fazellus de rebus Siculis. Decad. 1. Lib. 1. Such are the traditions of the Maltese, very particular and circumstantial; and yet every word a fiction. See also Burchardus Niderstedt; Malta vetus et nova. Helmestadii 1660. François Belle-forest; Cosmograph. 1575.

⁶ Given to them about the year 1530.

⁷ Travellers say, there are no scorpions for the children to play withall. See *Thevenot*’s and *Gemelli*’s Travels.







influence, unless garnished with legend and fable. That *Malta* harbours no venomous creature, is not owing to St. Paul's grace, who was never there; but to the nature of the island, that cannot give them shelter. For it is of a low situation, and consists of a soft white rock, with very little earth; what they have being, as *Thevenot* tells us, for the most part adventitious. What *Isaac Vossius* says of *Galata* may, with some limitation, be applied to *Malta*:⁸ *Plinius tradit hujus insulæ terram scorpiones necare: sed nulla hîc propriè extat terra, cùm tota insula sit sterile saxum—Mirum itaque non est scorpiones in tali loco non esse—Huc accedit, quòd scorpiones naturali quâdam constitutione oderint loca aprica, ac plurimum in iis moriantur; vigeant autem in obscuris et humidis.* Much the same may be said of *Malta*; which island, I believe, *ab origine* was never capable of harbouring either scorpion or viper. And though the natives shew the ⁹hand of *Publius*, the landing place, ¹the prison, and the pillar of St. *Paul*; yet I think it is pretty certain that neither *Paul* nor *Publius* were there: and if the Apostle had been, yet he could not have displayed the wonder he did; unless he had exhibited a prior miracle to introduce it.

OBSER-

⁸ *Is. Vossii* Observat. in Melam. Lib. 2. Cap. 7.

⁹ See *Abela*, *Gemelli's* and *Skippon's* Travels.

¹ The tradition of the prison would be at any rate very improbable. Those that invented it did not consider how *Julius* behaved to St. *Paul* at *Sidon*, nor in what manner he was afterwards treated at *Rome*. Those that left him so much at large upon the continent, would hardly imprison him in an island.

O B S E R V A T I O N S
UPON THE
A N C I E N T H I S T O R Y O F E G Y P T,
A N D

The Nations that were connected with it : wherein an Account is given of the SHEPHERD KINGS and the ISRAELITES : and the Place where they both resided is determined. The whole calculated to rectify in some degree the Chronology and Geography of that Kingdom : and to clear up the Difficulties with which they have hitherto been attended.

WE are informed in the *Mosaic* account of the sojournment of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*, that the place of their allotment was the land of *Goshen*. As *Egypt* was very spacious, and consisted of many large prefectures, as well as subordinate districts, it has employed the wit of many eminent writers to determine to which of these this particular land is to be ascribed. Some have thought that it was situated in the fields of *Zoan*. But where are the fields of *Zoan*? Others, at the entrance into the country, of which it was a portion. In short, it has been placed in *Egypt*; out of *Egypt*; upon the *Red-sea*; and upon the borders of *Canaan*; just as peoples fancies have directed them. These, and many more, have been

been the opinions of writers upon this subject; who, being guided merely by caprice, have advanced notions not only unsupported by any evidence, but often contradictory to the best accounts in history, and to the very authorities that they appeal to. The greatest part of what these authors advance consists of a dry investigation, which is carried on by a train of unwarrantable suppositions, not at all edifying or satisfactory, though enforced with a great deal of learning. In inquiries after mathematical truths, the process is very different. We advance upon some sure grounds, proceeding from one truth to another, till we arrive at the knowledge required. And we have been taught the same way of reasoning in the researches that we make in nature. Some data are first stated; some determined and undeniable principles laid down, which are examined and compared; and then, by fair inferences and necessary deductions we arrive at the truth. Hence have arisen those great improvements, that for this last century have been made in every branch of philosophy: much to the honour of our island; where this method of investigation was first recommended and introduced, and has been continually prosecuted with the greatest diligence and success; to the discouragement of all hypothesis and unwarrantable conjecture.

It is true, that in historical disquisitions we cannot expect mathematical certainty; much less can we obtain experimental knowledge: the nature of the evidence will not admit of such a proof. Yet there are not wanting proper data to proceed upon; matters of fact well stated, that are illustrated by other contingencies, especially such as have been never controverted. There is oftentimes, in respect to an historical transaction, such a connection and correspondence with other events; so marvellous a coincidence of collateral circumstances, as produces an internal proof superior to the testimony of the writer, through whose hands we receive the account.

account. So that we yield our assent, not merely on the credibility of the narrator: but from being certified in our belief, by an aggregate of circumstances, credible of themselves singly; but of infinite force and influence, when they are brought collectively to a point, and operate together. From hence many truths may be deduced; such as we may fairly assent to; and of which we may be morally certain. And the evidence resulting in this case is as home and satisfactory, as any that is founded on mathematical knowledge; and the assent we yield to it is as determined and full. But it may be said, that, in very remote inquiries we cannot always obtain this satisfactory light: and, though no one can well hesitate to pronounce that there was once such a country as *Chaldæa* or *Egypt*: yet there are many circumstances relating to the origin and chronology of those kingdoms; many particulars that regard the history and situation of their cities, of which we cannot be so accurately informed. All this is true: and, where we cannot obtain the light we wish for, we must rest contented with what can be procured: and if there really be none, we should take care not to make use of a false light to bewilder ourselves, and to mislead others. This caution cannot be too religiously observed: that we do not impose upon our own judgment; and fancy that we see light, when there is none; and then endeavour to captivate the ignorant and unwary by illusions of our own raising. In short, let us not go merely on surmise; but have some grounds, whereon to found our conjectures. Let us not proceed blindly in a track, we are unacquainted with; and then support our reveries with wicked wit and illicit learning. How often do writers obtrude upon their readers a bare possibility for a probability, and make inferences in consequence of it? arguing from the silence of authors; from terms relative and comparative; from a supposed convenience and expediency, which they frame in the luxuriancy of their fancy, but which no where

else is to be found. How often do they pitch upon a circumstance, the least to be depended on, to determine all the rest? where the first position is as doubtful as the second, or any which are inferred from it: so that every step they take, they recede farther and farther from the truth. And, during the whole course of their inquiries, they are too apt to magnify and enhance on one hand, and to soften and extenuate on the other; according as the evidence suits, or is unfavourable to their purpose. Nor is this to be observed among people of low endowments only, and of a moderate degree of literature: many writers of exquisite talents and an ample share of learning, are misled by the like prejudices: by which means much embarrassment and perplexity has ensued; and an obscurity been cast on some interesting parts of history. This has been in great measure owing to their not having originally set out upon something well known and assured: by neglecting which they have misapplied much good learning, and given a sanction to a multiplicity of errors. For the bane of truth is ill-grounded conjecture; and the more ingeniously it is supported, the greater is the evil. These errors are particularly fatal in geographical inquiries; and generally very complicated. For every city and district being in the vicinity of some other, if one is, through the whim and capriciousness of a writer, misplaced; all that have a connection with it must suffer a change in their situation; in order to keep up that relation and correspondence, which must necessarily subsist between them. As I would not have expressed myself with so much severity, if I had not good reason for what I alledge; I will, with the reader's leave, lay before him some instances of the unwarrantable assumptions that writers have made bold with, and a complication of mistakes in consequence of them.

As I purpose to make some inquiries into the ancient history of *Egypt*; I will begin with this question, Where was the
the

the land of *Goshen*? The ingenious *Lakemacher*,¹ in order to investigate this point, looks out first for the place of residence of *Pharaoh*. This he presumes was *Zoan*; and *Zoan*, he says, was *Tanis*. He accordingly places it on the *Pelusiæ* branch of the *Nile*, towards the bottom: and as *Goshen* is supposed to be near the residence of *Pharaoh*, it is placed to the east both of *Tanis* and the river, in *Arabia*, in a spot opposite to them. This allotment of *Goshen* necessarily determines the situation of many other places, that must be made to agree with it. For not only *Rameses* and *Pithom*, but the nome of *Bubastus*, with its city and appendages; and likewise that of *Heliopolis* must accord with this situation of *Goshen*: so that, if there be an error in the first principle, there will be found a sad series of mistakes, before we come to a conclusion. The chief points that he proceeds upon are these — “ that *Goshen* “ was in the way to *Egypt*, at the entrance of it, as people came “ from *Canaan*: that it was near to *Tanis*, and was a place of “ pastures: and lastly, that the spot he attributes to *Goshen* “ had this excellency; and was particularly adapted to flocks “ and herds.” I shall not enter into a detail of all his false reasoning; nor point out the passages in ancient authors, that he has

¹ *Jo. Gothofr. Lakemacheri Gr. et Orient. Ling. Prof. Ord. Observationes Philologicæ* 3. Vol. *Helmstadii*. 1730: See Vol. 2d. p. 297. and the map at page 1. *De situ Gosenitidis*. p. 314. *Ad eum verò indagandum ipsæ nobis Sacræ literæ adminicula nonnulla subministrant. Sunt autem hæc tria*; I. *Gosenitis in eâ Ægypti parte fuit, quam qui ex Canaan advenirent primam intrabant.* II. *Vicina fuit Tani, sedi regiæ.* III. *Terra fuit pascuosa, pecoribusque alendis cum primis idonea — Comperimus utique sitam fuisse Gosenitidem in Ægypti anterioribus, Canaanem inter sedemque regiam, ubi nomos erat Bubasticus et Arabicus, simul cum parte quâdam Setbroitæ: præsertim cum addatur loco posteriori Josephum curru juncto obviam processisse parenti in Gosenitidem.* — Nam جوشن, גושן in linguâ Arabicâ, cui haud dubiè cognata fuit Ægyptiaca, loricam sonat et partem anteriorem, vestis quidem speciatim, sed et generatim cujuscunque rei. He places *Tanis* upon the river of *Pelusium*: and to the east of it the *Arabian* nome, the nome of *Bubastus*, and part of the *Sethroitic*, between that river and *Canaan*. Here was the land of *Goshen* situated according to him, in *Arabia* beyond the limits of *Delta*.

has misapplied. Let it suffice, if I shew that he is fundamentally in the wrong; and has chosen a part of the world for the residence of the *Israelites*, that was never habitable. He was hurried on with a zeal for his hypothesis, and never in the least considered the natural history of the country he treats of: in which there was neither province nor city; for it was all a desert. *Pomponius Mela* mentions that one part of *Arabia*, which lay upon the *Red Sea*, was sufficiently fruitful: but from *Egypt* to the *Red Sea* (that is from west to east) it was all a barren flat, ² *plana et sterilis*. *Pliny* speaks to the same purpose: ³ *Arabia—sterilis, præterquam ubi Syriæ confinia attingit.—Agrippa a Pelusio Arsinoen Rubri maris oppidum per desertum CXXV. M. passuum tradit. Diodorus Siculus*, speaking of the same part of the country to the east of lower *Egypt*, says that it was from north to south a wild, from *Pelusium* quite up to *Heliopolis*; ⁴ *απο Πηλεσις μεχρις Ἡλιεπολεως δια της ερημης. Strabo* is more full and to the purpose. ⁵ *Ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Νεῖλον καὶ τὰς Ἀραβίας κοίτης Ἀραβία μὲν ἐστὶ καὶ ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ἀκρῶν αὐτῆς ἰδρύσθαι τὸ Πηλεσιον· ἀλλ' ἐρημος ἀπασα ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀβάτος στρατοπέδῳ.*

Arabia, we find, commenced from the very *Nile*. *Pelusium* stood upon the extremity of it; from whence extended a vast desert, not fit for the march or encampment of an army. And

² *P. Mela*. Lib. 1. Cap. 10.

³ *Plin.* Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 11. Edit. Harduin.

⁴ The words of *Diodorus* relate to a great work of *Sesostris*; who is said to have carried on a fortification from *Pelusium* as high up as *Heliopolis*, by way of defence to the anterior parts of *Egypt*. It was 1500 stadia in length, and went the whole way through the desert: *απο Πηλεσις μεχρις Ἡλιεπολεως δια της ερημης*. Lib. 1. p. 36. Edit. Stephan. He in another place mentions *Egypt* as very difficult of access, on account of this desert; *δυσπροσιτη παντελως εσσης*. Lib. 15. p. 478. See *Jos. de Bell. Jud.* Lib. 4. Cap. 11. of *Titus's* march; and *Polyb.* Lib. 5. of the march of *Ptolemy* to *Gaza*.

⁵ *Strabo* Vol. 2. p. 1155. Edit. Amst. 1707. *δυσεισβολος ἐστὶν ἡ Αἰγυπτος ἐκ τῶν ἐωθιῶν τοπῶν.* *ibid.*

And he farther adds, that, besides it's being without water, it's sands were full of reptiles, undoubtedly of a poisonous nature. *Προς δε τῷ ἀνυδρὸς εἶναι καὶ ἀμμοδῆς, ἔρπετων πλῆθος ἔχει τῶν ἁμμοδύων.* And in another place, mentioning the same part of *Arabia* from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea*, he represents it as a sandy waste, that could scarcely be passed, except upon camels: *δι' ἐρημῶν δὲ καὶ ἀμμοδῶν χωρίων αἱ ὑπερβάσεις ἐπὶ καμηλῶν.* *Plutarch* assures us that, when *Antonius* marched his army from *Syria* towards *Egypt*, he and his soldiers had such apprehensions from this desert, and this particular part of the desert, that they esteemed it the worst enemy they had to encounter: *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ πολεμικὰ μάλ' ἰσχυρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τὸ Πηλεσίον ὁδόν, ἅτε δὴ διὰ ψαμμὸς βαθείας καὶ ἀνυδρίας, περὶ τὸ ἐκρηγμὰ καὶ τὰ τῆς Σεβωνίδος ἔλη γινόμενης αὐτοῖς τῆς πορείας.* Even the few towns upon the sea coast from *Palestine* to *Egypt* seem to have been very bare of the necessaries of life. One of them was *Ostracine*; where water was so scarce, that to desire drink of an inhabitant became a proverbial expression for asking alms of a beggar; *Ἀρξὺς μὲν ἐκ ἤησαμεν παρὰ σε, ὅτι μὴδὲ ὕδωρ παρὰ τὴν Οὐρακινὴν οἰκονύων.* Mount *Casius* was itself *θινωδὴς τις λοφὸς ἀκρωτηριαζών, ἀνυδρὸς*: “a sharp sandy hill,” without water.” The next place beyond *Ostracine* was *Rhinocolura*; and as badly circumstanced as the former. It was furrounded with a morass of sea water; so that all their wells were tainted; and, bad as their water seems to have been, there was even of this great scarcity. *Ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτὴν χώραν πληρὴν*

⁶ *Concolor exustis atque indiscretus arenis*

Ammodytes. Lucan. Lib. 9. v. 715. See Deut. 8. v. 15.

⁷ *In vit. Antonii.*

⁸ *Greg. Nazianz. Epist. 46.*

⁹ *Josephus* of the march of *Titus* says; *Προς τὴν τῆς Κασίου Διὸς ἱερῇ στρατοπέδουται· τῇ δὲ ὑπεραίᾳ κατὰ τὴν Οὐρακινὴν. ἕτος ὁ σταθμὸς ἦν ἀνυδρὸς.* *De Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 11.* *Mela* seems to think more favourably of this hill; but, I believe, without any reason. *Lib. 1. Cap. 9.*

¹ *Diodorus Siculus. Lib. 1. pag. 38.*

πληρης ἀλμυριδος· εντος δε τε τειχες ολιγον εσιν ὕδωρ εν φρεασι, και τετο διεφθαρμενον, και παν̄ελως τη γευσει πικρον. This desert, which began at *Pelusium* and the *Nile*, reached in the way to *Palestine* as far as *Gaza*, which was situated on the edge of it — αὕτη εσιν ερημος, says ² the Apostle. And *Arrian* ³ observes of the same place; εσχατη δε ωκειτο, ὡς επ̄ Αιγυπτω εκ Φοινικης ιοντι, επι τη αρχη της ερημικ.

But *Lukemacher* is not contented with cursorily speaking of this part of the world. He goes so far as to describe it; telling us what it was, and what it was not; as if he had been witness of it's goodness, and had traversed it at his leasure. ⁴*Ille tractus — ab ipsâ naturâ ad pecora alenda videbatur factus. Neque enim tot rivis, uti Delta, incisus erat abruptusque; sed campis continuïs lateque patentibus liberè evagandi palandique gregibus faciebat copiam. Quocirca illo potissimum delectatos fuisse pastores non est magnopere mirandum.* It was a rich open country: in short, a perfect *Arcadia*. To this minute and whimsical description of a region that the author was totally unacquainted with, let me subjoin an account of the true nature of these parts; and, as far as I can judge, of the very spot that has been above treated of, with some occurrences that happened there; as they are described by a modern traveller. ⁵*Baumgarten*, a German nobleman, set out with a *Caravan* from *Cairo* to go to *Syria*, December the 6th in the year 1507. He travelled five days; when he came towards the part of *Arabia* that lay between *Damiata* and *Syria*. “ On the twelfth
“ day about sun-rising we came to a desolate and decayed cot-
“ tage; where we stopped about two hours; and then went on in
“ our sandy journey towards the sea. Not far from this cottage
“ we saw above ten thousand carcases of sheep, goats, asses, and
“ other creatures lying on the ground, rotten and half consum-

“ ed:

² Acts. 8. v. 26.

³ Exped. Alex. Lib. 2.

⁴ Vol. 2. p. 320.

⁵ *Churchill's* collection of travels. Vol. 1. p. 457.

“ed: the noisom smell of which was so unsufferable, that we
 “were obliged to make all the haste we could to get out of the
 “reach of it. The occasion of their lying there was thus. *Admi-*
 “*rald*, one of the *Sultan*’s chief ministers, having been sent in-
 “to *Judæa* to raise a poll-tax, and finding it hard to get in the
 “money, had driven away the poor people’s cattle, with a de-
 “sign to carry them to *Cairo*, and present them to the *Sultan*.
 “But, as he was travelling through that desert, where there
 “was neither water nor pasture, he lost them all.—After we
 “had got out of the reach of that stink, we came to a certain
 “bay.”⁶ *Sandys*, the father of *English* travellers, went the same
 rout, and gives a similar account of it. 7 “On the east it
 “[*Egypt*] is confined with the *Arabian* deserts—We were to be-
 “gin the worst of the journey. On the 10th of *March* we entered
 “the main deserts:—a barren and desolate country, bearing nei-
 “ther grafs nor trees; save only here and there a few palms:—
 “no water that is sweet; all being a mere wilderness of sand.”

This

⁶ *Baumgarten* was at *Cairo* in the time of *Tongobardin*, the last of the *Mamaluke* kings, A.D. 1507. He was admitted to that prince’s presence; and saw him with his thirty five wives, in the midst of the highest luxury and gratification, maintaining that no life could be compared with his for true and substantial happiness. A few years afterwards he was defeated by *Selim* the *Turk*, and hanged before his palace. The same person traversed this desert another way, in his journey to mount *Sinai*; and shews that it was of the same nature every where. “*Alcanica*—two miles from *Cairo*; and stands in a sandy desert.—On the eighth
 “we entered the deserts.—On the ninth we marched through a dreadful
 “sandy desert, where nothing that was green appeared; not so much
 “as briars or thorns.” We have the like account in *Monconysii Iter ad montem Sinæ*. 13. *April. Ad hospitium vel diversorium*. 14. *Per desertum statim a diversorio incipiens*. In like manner *Neitscheizt, Iter ad Montem Sinæ*. 25 *Junii. Cabirow mane iter inceptum—inde ad Suez merum sabulum*. In short, the whole space from lower *Egypt* to *Palestine* and to the *Red Sea* was at all times a desert, taken in every direction. “*Toute l’Egypte est environnée de deserts et sablons*.” *Davity*, p. 273. *Leo Africanus* speaks to the same effect: and all ancient writers agree that *Arabia* and the desert of *Arabia* commenced from the river of *Pelusium*, the extreme branch of the *Nile* eastward.

⁷ *Sandys*’s Travels.

This is the spot that *Lakemacher* terms *terra pascuosa, pecoribusque alendis cum primis idonea*: here he supposes a numerous people to have resided two centuries, where a *Caravan* could not subsist for a day. Sure this is overlooking the plainest evidence, and running counter to the most approved authorities. Yet the learned professor *Job. Math. Hasius* subscribes to this opinion; and, proceeding upon the same grounds, adds to the extravagancies largely. ⁸ He gives it as a reason for placing the *Israelites* in this particular situation, because they were in the vicinity of those very places about mount *Casius*, which are represented by *Plutarch* and other writers as uninhabitable. I have been pretty diffuse in my confutation of *Lakemacher's* notions; as at the same time I obviate the opinion of all those who are of the same way of thinking; there being many of that class. Even the learned bishop *Cumberland* was of this opinion. ⁹ “It is probable that the country which *Moses* calls *Goshen* began hereabouts, [near *Pelufium*] and ran southward between the *Nile* on it's west side and the *Red Sea* on part of it's east:—the fittest place to maintain their cattle.”

Mr. Sale has exhibited in his writings much oriental reading; and the world is certainly indebted to him on that head. Yet he has been too much led by fancy: and he very often determines a point peremptorily, that he has not sufficiently considered. He has a note upon this subject, which I will transcribe at large. “It is a wonder how the *Septuagint* came to place the land of *Goshen* in *Arabia*, at least, some copies have it *Goshen* in *Arabia*, since that was farther off from *Egypt* than the land of *Canaan*. *St. Jerom* thinks that

⁸ *Joban. Math. Hasi Mathem. Profess. Witemberg. Regni Davidici et Solomonis descriptio. Norimberg. 1739. In Cap. 12. part. 2. p. 175. among other reasons given, these are principal: Conditio regionis; fertilis enim est ob viciniam Nili, inque introitu Ægypti. In vicinia sunt Migdol, Baalzephon, Lacus Sirbonis. Alia etiam non sine fructu videri possunt apud Lakemacherum, non sine laude citandum, in observationibus suis philologicis.*

⁹ In *Sanhoniath. p. 363 & 365.*

“ that it was the same as *Thebaïs* in *Ethiopia* or bordering to
 “ it: but that was too long a journey for *Jacob*, neither
 “ would *Joseph* have been near enough to have seen and sup-
 “ plied his wants: whereas he gives it as a reason to his bre-
 “ thren, in the former chapter, for his chusing this land,
 “ that they might be near him. But this *Goshen* was situ-
 “ ate between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile*, upon the borders
 “ of *Canaan*, not far from *On* or *Hierapolis*, where his chief
 “ habitation was. It was a fruitful spot of ground, and fit
 “ for cattle; and therefore *Josephus* tells us that *Pharaoh*
 “ kept his own there. It was separate from *Egypt*, and there-
 “ fore fittest for *Jacob* and his family; which would be out
 “ of all danger of interfering with the *Egyptians*.”⁶ What an
 inconsistent jumble is here! This writer wonders that the *Seven-
 ty* should place *Goshen* in *Arabia*; and therefore, to mend the
 matter, he places it in the confines of *Canaan*: whereby he
 shews, that he neither knew the true situation of *Egypt*, nor the
 extent of *Arabia*, nor the limits of the land he speaks of. He
 did not know that all to the east of the *Nile* was called *Arabia*.
 7 Ἡ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Νεῖλον καὶ τὰς Ἀραβίας κολπὰς Ἀραβία μὲν ἐστίν. ⁸ *Ultra
 Pelusiacum Arabia est, ad Rubrum mare pertinens*: and ⁹ Ἀραβία
 συναπτεσθαι πρὸς μὲν τὴν δύσιν Αἰγυπτῶ. He did not know that the
 city *Heliopolis*, which he alludes to and calls *Hierapolis*, was
 in *Arabia*: which city he places not far from the borders
 of *Canaan*; between which places, however, there was a
 mighty interval. For *Canaan*, as it was bounded at the time
 we are speaking of, had between it and *Egypt* part of *Philistim*
 or *Palæstina propria*. Next in order to the *Philistines* were the
¹ *Amalekites*; who stretched across almost from one sea to the
 other, and were a very powerful nation. Between them and
 the

⁶ Universal History. Vol. 1. p. 457. Note A.

⁷ Strab. Vol. 2. pag. 1155.

⁸ Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 11.

⁹ Steph. Byzant.

¹ According to *Josephus* the *Amalekites* reached from *Pelusium* to the
Red Sea. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 6. Cap. 8.

the city *Heliopolis* was the desert above mentioned; from the commencement of which to ²*Heliopolis* could not be less than 150 miles. This space is by the writer overlooked, and the country annihilated: so that the confines of *Canaan* are brought within the verge of upper *Egypt*. After having determined the situation of this *Goshen* between the *Red Sea* and the *Nile* upon the borders of *Canaan*, not far from *Hierapolis*, where it seems *Joseph* lived, he concludes; "it was a fruitful spot, and separate from *Egypt*; and therefore fittest for *Jacob*." In this wide field it is difficult to know the part he alludes to. But in respect to the spot, wherever it was, being fruitful, it is a groundless supposition. I have shewn from many authorities, that it was a barren wild: and as to the land of *Goshen* being separate from *Egypt*, it is quite contradictory to the *Mosaic* account. The sacred historian assures us that it was part of the land of *Egypt*. ³ The *Israelites* were to eat by *Pharaoh's* appointment the fat of the land: the good of all the land of *Egypt* was their's. ⁴ "The land of *Egypt* is before thee;" said the prince of the country; "in the best of the land make thy father and brethren to dwell.—And *Joseph* placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of *Egypt*, in the best of the land, in the land of *Rameses*, as *Pharaoh* had commanded.—And *Israel* dwelt in the land of *Egypt* in the country of *Goshen*." This sure is very explicit and plain. But what evidence is sufficient against the perverseness of human wit, that will so very industriously deviate from the truth? which would persuade us, that "the best of the land of *Egypt*" was not the best, nor in *Egypt*; and that the *Israelites* were placed in a desert.

The ² There were two cities named *Heliopolis*; of which I shall have a great deal to say hereafter. One was in lower *Egypt*; and very ancient, being the *On* of *Moses* and the Prophets: the other of later date, and called properly *Onium*. It was situated at some distance from the former, and in *Arabia*. This is a circumstance, that has escaped the notice not only of all the moderns, but of most of the ancients.

³ *Gen.* 45. v. 18, 20.

⁴ *Gen.* 47. v. 6, 11, 27.

The learned editor of ⁵ *Benjamin Tudelenfis* proceeds upon the same principles as Mr. Sale; and thinks it is plain from scripture, that *Goshen* was only in the confines of *Egypt* towards the land of *Canaan*. *Sed ubi fuerit [terra Goshen] distinctè non docetur: nisi quod historia Exodi in Ægypti confinio versus terram Canaan eam collocat. At Benjamin inter Kairum et Alexandriam eandem recenset: ita sæpe aberrat.—Ideo magis confirmor, ut locum in orientiori Ægypti regione situm designari credam: nimirum Goshen esse diæcesin circa Heliopolin, sive civitatem Solis; adeoque Rameses ipsam esse Heliopolin.* Here is the same uncertainty and confusion that we had above. *Goshen* is placed in the confines of *Egypt* towards *Canaan*; and at the same time is in the province, of which *Heliopolis* was the capital, that is a mediterranean nome of lower *Egypt*. Mr. Sale's account is so similar to this, that he undoubtedly borrowed his notions from hence: which he seems to have adopted at first sight, without the least trial or examination.

Our very learned countryman *Marsham* had too much discernment to make *Goshen* an *Arabian* province. He places it in *Egypt*; but in the lower parts, the nearest to *Arabia* and *Syria*: and for this reason, because *Joseph* met his father at *Goshen*, when he was coming from *Canaan*. ⁶ *Josephus patri advenienti è Canaan occurrit ad Ghosen.* This is not fairly expressed: indeed, it is quite contrary to the *Mosaic* account. The Scripture does not say that he met his father, as he was coming; that is, as he seems to imply, *ex adverso*:⁷ but the con-

⁵ *Itinerarium D. Benjaminis cum versione et notis Constantini Lⁱ Empereur.* Lugd. Bat. Elz. 1633. pag. 223.

⁶ *Verùm ubi terrarum fuit Ghosen? cerè in inferiore Ægypto; et habitatio Israelitarum Syriæ et Arabiæ finitima. Josephus patri advenienti è Canaan occurrit ad Ghosen. Cum ex Ægypto tandem discederent Israelitæ, primum iter illinc fuit in Succoth, id est tentoria, sive Arabiæ desertum. Marshami Canon Chronicus. p. 90. Edit. Lips.*

⁷ This is one of the inferences that I before complained of, made contrary to the evidence appealed to. Many have fallen into the same mistake, by not attending to the plain and obvious account, as it is

contrary. It acquaints us, that the patriarch had a place of residence allotted him in the land of *Egypt*: that, when he was going to that place, he sent one of his sons to *Joseph*, to desire that he would meet him there upon his arrival. ⁸“ And “he sent *Judah* before him unto *Joseph*, to direct his face unto *Goshen*; and they came into the land of *Goshen*. And *Joseph* made ready his chariot, and went up to meet *Israel* his father, to *Goshen*; and presented himself unto him.” His father seems to have been arrived before *Joseph* set out: so that I do not see how any inference can be made from hence, that *Goshen* was in the lower and anterior parts of *Egypt*. Two bodies may meet at a very acute angle, as well as in a direct line. Had the place of destination been *Thebes* or *Elephantis*, *Jacob* might very consistently have made the same request for his son to have met him there. But *Marsham* adds farther to confirm this notion, that the *Israelites* at their departure came first to *Succoth*, which means *booths*, that is, *Arabia deserta*. They certainly did make this their first stage: but how will this prove that they were placed in the lower parts, the nearest to *Syria*? “because the first step they took, they were “in *Arabia*.” This circumstance was common to all places situated either to the east of the river, as many were in upper *Egypt*; or close upon the western side of it, as many were in the lower or *Delta*: especially such as lay near the *Pelusiæ* branch. The first were actually in *Arabia*: and the others could not pass the river, but they were in it likewise. The stream that they lived upon was the great barrier of lower *Egypt*; the very limit that separated them from *Arabia*. Beyond it was the wilderness: ⁹ *απο Πηλυσιας μέχρις Ηλιουπολεως*.

Why given us by the sacred writer. This error occurs in *Zonaras*. *Ηδη δε της Αιγυπτου πλησιον ουτι αυτω [Ιακωβ] προσυπαντα Ιωσηφ*. Vol. i. p. 31. and in *Philo Judæus*. “Ο δ’ υιος ακυσας (σκοποι γαρ και Φρασηρες της οδου παντ’ εδηλυν) ε μακραν των οριων απεχοντι δια ταχων απηντα τω πατρι· και κατα την καλεμενην Ηρωων παλει εντυχοντες, επιπιπυσιν αλληλοις. *Liber de Joseph*.

⁸ *Gen.* 46. v. 28, 29.

⁹ *Diodorus Siculus Lib.* i. p. 36.

Why then does this excellent writer introduce as particular, what was so general? and speak of a circumstance as peculiar to the lower parts of the country, which was common to all that lay in the same direction; for some hundreds of miles? Why would he speak so hastily and prematurely? and not weigh well, and consider the rich treasure of learning he was fraught with? A little diligence and a nearer inspection, would more successfully have determined his judgment. Nothing can bring a greater scandal on human reason than the abuse of it in sacred inquiries. As the holy Scriptures are so very precise and exact; and, when collated and compared, so wonderfully explain themselves, and discover so many interesting truths; how injurious is it to treat them so superficially! If we would but be at the trouble to look into the scope and meaning of the authorities we have recourse to; no writings in the world would so amply reward our pains.

The learning and penetration of Mr. Bayle are greatly celebrated. He has some observations upon this subject in his account of the city *Pithom*: where his own mistakes, and those that he adopts, are remarkable. He supposes the land of *Goshen* to be in the lower *Egypt*, towards the bottom: that *Abaris*, *Pithom*, *Sethron*, *Typhon* and *Pelusium* were one and the same place: yet gives no reason for this his opinion; but seems to copy *Marsham* implicitly. I shall have occasion to speak at large of *Abaris* and *Pithom* hereafter; which were distinct cities, and far enough removed from *Pelusium*. There were cities in *Egypt* called ¹*Typhonian*; but I do not recollect any of the name of *Typhon*. And as for *Sethron* being the same as *Pelusium*, it is a gross mistake. *Sethron* was the capital of the *Sethroitic* nome, to which it gave name. It was called ²*Heracleopolis parva*, and lay midway between *Tanis* and

¹ One *Typhonian* city was very high in superior *Egypt*: *εἰς τὴν Τυφωναίαν καλεσμένην, καὶ ἡ ἐς Κοπτοῦ διωρυξ*. *Strabo*. Vol. 2. pag. 1169.

² *Σεθροΐτης νομος, καὶ μητροπολις Ἡρακλεωπολις μικρά*. *Ptol. Geogr.*

and *Pelufum*. This is as manifest as any circumstance in history; and may be proved from the *Itinerary*, and by the march of *Titus* from *Alexandria* to *Syria*. It is too well certified to need any formal discussion.

I must mention another very respectable and learned writer; and that is *Perizonius*. He places *Goshen* at *Zoan*, or the fields of *Zoan*; which, he says, was *Tanis*, where was the residence of *Pharaoh*. I shall pass over many exceptionable positions and unwarrantable demands; and only observe, that, if *Tanis* was the abode of *Pharaoh*, it is little probable that *Goshen* was in the fields of that capital. *Goshen* was a province itself; and is all along distinguished by *Moses*, not only from the district where *Pharaoh* dwelt, but from all the provinces in *Egypt*.³ In the plague of flies all *Egypt* suffered: but the land of *Goshen* was severed, and not subject to the calamity. All *Egypt* was hurt by the hail: "only in the land of *Goshen*, where the children of *Israel* were, was there no hail." The *Egyptians* were in palpable darkness; "but all the children of *Israel* had light in their dwellings." The intention of *Joseph*, from the first arrival of his brethren in *Egypt*, was to fix them in a situation, where they might live recluse and separated from the rest of the world. Could this end be answered, if they lived in the precincts of a metropolis? No province could be more particularized and distinguished: not *Moph*, not *Thebes*, not *Tabpanhes*: for the sacred writer describes it both in general and in particular; that it cannot be mistaken:—"And *Israel* dwelt in the land of *Egypt*, in the country of *Goshen*." In short, the whole history of the place shews that it was a detached district, where the *Israelites* dwelt unmixed with the
peo-

³ *Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 11.*

⁴ *Jac. Perizonii Aegyptiarum Originum et Temp. antiquissimorum investigatio.* Vol. 1. p. 351. Lugd. Bat. 1711.

⁵ *Exod. 8. v. 22.—9. v. 26.—10. v. 23. Gen. 47. v. 11.—47. v. 27.*

people of the land; till they were forced into their cruel service, and subjected to their tyranny. And even then the place remained to them still distinct and separate: indeed, it had been given to them for a possession; nor did they ever entirely quit it, till they left the country. The principal evidence that *Perizonius* applies to is this, that ⁶God is said to have done, “marvellous things in the sight of their fathers, in the land of *Egypt*, in the field of *Zoan*.” And again; “They remembered not his hand—how he had wrought his signs in *Egypt*, and his wonders in the field of *Zoan*.” These are flight grounds to proceed upon in determining the habitation of the *Israelites*, whether it was at *Tanis*, or elsewhere: yet *Perizonius* from this evidence is led to determine it; and he gives this for a reason. *Pars ergo Ægypti, quam inhabitârunt Israelitæ, fuit campus Taneos: siquidem istic in eorum conspectu miracula a Deo sunt edita.* I am sensible that *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Isidorus*, and many others suppose *Zoan* to have been *Tanis*: but I know no other reason for it, but what *Bochart* has comprized in a short compass—*Ex Tzoan vel Tzaan factum est Tanis, sedes Aulae regiae.* There is nothing alledged in favour of this notion; no history nor tradition: but merely a similitude in the two names; upon which supposed resemblance the identity of the two places is presumed. This is a compendious way of proceeding; but at the same time very fallacious and illgrounded. As to what *Perizonius* urges—*siquidem istic in eorum conspectu miracula a Deo sunt edita*; it is so far from being true that God displayed his wonders (*istic*) in the place of their habitation, that it was of all the regions of *Egypt* what partook of them the least: so that any inference drawn from this circumstance is groundless. The purport of what is said by the Psalmist amounts to this: that it had pleased God to display many miracles in the sight of the *Israelites*; which were exhibited all over *Egypt*, and particularly in the fields

⁶ *Psalm.* 78. v. 12, 42, 43.

fields of *Zoan*. The children of *Israel* might have been witnesses of these wonders without having their place of abode within the precincts of the capital; or at all in its vicinity. The works, that they were engaged in, caused them to be dissipated many different ways; as we may learn from *Moses*: 7 "So the people were scattered abroad throughout all the land of *Egypt*." What wonders could there be any where displayed, but what some of them must have been witnesses to? Why then need the people be determined to any one spot to view occurrences, that were to be seen every where? Especially as this was the spot, where they did not immediately happen; and some of them could not well come under their cognizance in that situation. *Goshen* only excepted, the plagues were universal. Yet this learned writer seems to forget himself; and to ascribe the exhibition of them particularly to that place, where they were not exhibited. The field of *Zoan* might have been a large portion of *Egypt*; possibly the upper part of *Delta*, 8 called by *Herodotus* *πεδιον Αιγυπτου*; and *Goshen* might be a province included in it: of which I may hereafter treat; but it does not necessarily follow from the above, that it was so. Setting therefore this aside; and allowing *Perizonius* what he demands, that *Zoan* was *Tanis*, the place of residence of *Pharaoh*, and that in these parts were displayed many great occurrences; yet no inference can from hence be made in favour of his argument. How very unreasonable it would be to insist, because many marvellous works were exhibited at *Tanis* in common with the rest of *Egypt*; therefore *Goshen*, where they were not exhibited, was an appendage to *Tanis*!

Besides what I have here alledged, *Perizonius* is very faulty in

7 *Exod.* 5. v. 12.

8 It was called *πεδιον Αιγυπτου* in contradistinction to the country above: for that was bounded with mountains on each side, and had inequalities; but the lower was *ὕψτιν*, supine and flat, and properly termed a field or plain.

in his disposition of places in *Egypt*; as will appear from what follows. *9 Pars ergo Ægypti, quam inhabitârunt Israelitæ, fuit campus Taneos — Potissimum autem Terra Gosen in S. Scripturâ vocatur ea, in quâ confederunt Israelitæ. Hæc autem fuit versus Arabiam, aut in nomo Arabiæ, qui est in finibus Ægypti apud fluvium Bubastum; siquidem Græci interpretes, qui in Ægypto verterrunt S. Scripturam, terram Gosen Arabiæ ascribunt, Genes. XLV. 10. et XLVI. 34. — Istic autem erat etiam urbs Sethron, unde Sethroites nomos, Arabiæ nomo proximus. — Sed et dicuntur illi Memphim occupâsse apud Josephum et Africanum, quousque etiam, sed ab alterâ, h. e. orientali, parte Nili, se extendisse ab Sethroite et Tanitico nomo videtur tunc terra Gosen.* We are here told that *Goshen* was in *Campo Taneos*, in the province of *Tanis*; yet at the same time it is said to be situated towards *Arabia*, or in the nome of *Arabia*, in the borders of *Egypt*, and upon the river *Bubastus*: which is impossible. Moreover, if *Goshen* was a district in the nome of *Tanis*, whatever is said above of *Goshen* is applicable to *Tanis*. In consequence of which, *Tanis* likewise must have been towards *Arabia*, or in the nome of *Arabia*, in the borders of *Egypt*, upon the river *Bubastus*. But, if there be any thing certain in geography, *Tanis* was a city and province in the lower part of *Delta*, near the sea, upon a river of its own name; forty four miles distant from *Pelusium* and *Arabia*; and still much farther from the nome of *Arabia*, which was at the top of lower *Egypt*: and next to *Tanis* was *Sethron* in the like situation. From so many incoherent circumstances being clustered together by *Perizonius*, it is plain, that he did not know the true situation of any one place he mentions.

Having for a time cooped up the *Israelites* in a subordinate district, he makes them at last extend themselves from *Tanis* to *Memphis*, and to occupy part of *Arabia* to the east of the *Nile*; in order to comprehend this fairy land, if it be at all attainable. But this is a circumstance quite incredible:
nor

9 Perizonii Ægypt. Orig. Investigatio. p. 350.

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nor is there the least reason to think, that they were possessed of such a tract of country; most of which I have shewn was not habitable. Besides, it does not remedy the evil. The land of *Goshen* was fixed and permanent: that did not travel with them: and, whatever provinces they might occupy afterwards, this must have remained distinct: nor could their change of place alter it. The same nation that settled in *Franconia* got possession of *Gaul* to the *Pyrenees* and the Ocean: but nobody places *Franconia* in *Gascony* or *Thoulouse*. In short, the mistakes of *Perizonius* are almost too flagrant to need a regular confutation. His reasoning is as unfair, as the grounds he proceeds upon are untrue: both unworthy of him.

*Cellarius*¹ has touched upon this head. In his map of *Egypt* he places *Goshen* in the neighbourhood of the city *On* or *Heliopolis*, to the east of the *Nile*: and, together with these, he has transposed other provinces and cities in a much too lawless and unwarrantable manner. His learning is copious; and the authorities that he appeals to many, but not always sufficiently digested. His work, which is a very laudable one, and of great utility, was too extensive to give him time to be thoroughly accurate. Though he differs from others in the situation, which he gives to these places; yet, as he goes so far as to place them in *Arabia*, all that he says upon the subject, has been answered already.

It is remarkable of the persons who contributed to the *Greek* version of the Bible, that (where it is said in the original that *Joseph*² “went up to meet *Israel* his father to *Goshen*”) they translate it καθ’ Ἡρωων παλιν, the city *Heroum* or *Heroopolis*. In other³ places they term it γῆ Γεσεμ Αραβίας. Now *Heroopolis*, at least the only city we know of that name, was upon the north west point of the *Red Sea*; as we learn from

¹ *Cellarii Notitia Orbis Antiqui.* 2 Vol. Amstel. 1706, Vol. 2. P. 34.

² *Genes.* 46. v. 29.

³ *Genes.* 46. v. 34.—45. v. 10.

from ⁴*Ptolemy* and ⁵*Strabo*. This situation for *Goshen* is more extravagant than any that has been yet thought of: it cannot be supposed that the best of the land of *Egypt* was here. The few towns upon the upper part of the *Red Sea* were solitary seaports, that stood upon the verge of a barren wilderness; and were not of *Egyptian* original. We are told by *Strabo*, that the kings of *Egypt* for a long time were averse to trade, particularly by sea, and discouraged navigation. They were satisfied with the produce of their own fertile soil; and needed not any foreign importations: which circumstance made them ill affected to sailors and shipping, and little solicitous about seaports and harbours; especially beyond the limits of their own country. ⁶Οἱ μὲν οὖν πρότεροι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεῖς ἀγαπῶντες οἷς εἶχον, καὶ ἔπεισαν ἐπεισάκτων δεόμενοι, διαβεβλημένοι πρὸς ἅπαντας τὰς πλεοντάς κ. τ. λ. ⁷*Diodorus Siculus* says the same. The histories of *Egypt* are continually describing the care and cost of their first kings, in fortifying the country to the east, and securing it from foreign attacks. They made the river of *Pelufium* the boundary of their kingdom; and never thought of founding ⁸seaports on the *Red Sea*. *Heroopolis*, and the few towns near it were separated from *Egypt* at the distance of four days journey; and were occupied by the *Arabians*,

⁴ Geogr. Edit. Bertii. p. 103.

⁵ Vol. 2. p. 1158. Ἡ τῶν Ἡρώων ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ ἡ Κλεοπάτρις, ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τῆς Αραβίας κολῶσα τῷ πρὸς Αἰγύπτου. pag. 1193. καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν τὴν ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τῆς Αραβίας κολῶσα.

⁶ Vol. 2. pag. 1142.

⁷ Καθολὴ δὲ πρῶτος [Ψαμμιτιχος] τῶν κατ' Αἰγύπτου βασιλέων ἀνεῴξε τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐθνέσι τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἄλλην χώραν ἐμπορία, καὶ πολλὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπλεῖσι ξένοις παρέχετο. Lib. 1. pag. 43.

⁸ The priests of *Egypt* esteemed it an abomination for a person to quit his native country: for which reason they never left it; thinking it inexcusable in any persons, excepting those, who were obliged to go abroad for the service of the crown by the king's appointment. This we learn from *Chæremo* the *Stoic* in his account of the *Egyptian* priests, οἱ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἀσεβέσ-ατοῖς ἐτίθεντο πλεῖν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου διευλαβήμενοι ξενικὰς τρυφὰς καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα. Μονοῖς γὰρ ὅσιον ἐδοκεῖ τοῖς κατὰ τὰς βασιλικὰς χρεῖας ἀπηναγκασμένοις. *Porph. de Abstin.* Lib. 4.

bians, and by the sons of *Ishmael* and *Edom* for ages. The latter, in the time of *Jehoshaphat*, seem to have been sole masters of the gulf of *Elah*. As soon as this king had subdued them; he took possession of their ports, and built a fleet, and projected a scheme of trade. It was the first attempt of any prince of that house since the days of *Solomon*; and soon proved abortive. The other and nearer gulf was possessed by the *Arabians*. The face of the country may be supposed to have been much the same at all times. What it is now, may be learned from a modern ⁹ traveller, who passed from *Suez*, the most northern part of the *Red Sea*, to *Cairo*. *Ex hoc loco pergentes venimus in campum Choas dictum — mediâ ibi nocte exactâ recessimus, iter laboriosum per latissimos et prorsus steriles campos totâ die illâ conficientes; ubi nec virens aliquid vidimus, nec aquam reperimus, neque tentoria figere poteramus: eò quod tenuissima arena, quæ illic est copiosa, funium claves tenere non posset.* Agreeable to this is what ¹ *Egmont* and *Hayman* tell

⁹ *Bernardi de Breydenback sanctæ peregrinationes in montem Sion et montem Sinai anno 1483 confectæ. Impress. Spiræ. 1490.*

¹ *Egmont and Hayman's Travels. Vol. 2d. p. 148. and 188. See also Viaggi fatti nel Egitto opera del Signor Gabrielle Bremond. In Roma, 1679. Lib. 1. "Indi tirando fra levante e mezzo giorno senza fermarsi al Birco, o stagno d'acqua fontano dal Cairo 4 hore di camino, "entrammo nel deserto, dove si trovano campagni sterili, non di rena, "ma di terra secca, che per esser priva d'acqua non produce ne anche "un filo d'erba eccetto verso il mare. Facemmo tre giornate per "questi disertî, riposando la sera sotto padiglioni che portavamo, et "accommodando il viver nostro all'uso Arabo, ne si riposava se non a "21 hore per ristorarci. La sera del terzo giorno havendo scoperte alcune picciole montagne, bisogno caminar fino alle tre hore di notte, "per arrivar ad un picciol castello, sotto il quale ci firmammo: si noma "Agirild: et e fabricato di fresco per guardia d'un pozzo d'acqua "amara, et per rendere piu che si puo sicuro il camino alle caravane della "Meka, che passan per di là. E assai mal guardato non vi essendo, "per mancamento di paga, e viveri che poche Soldati in questo deserto, "dove osservai che la rugiada intessa sia salata." I quote this passage, because some have thought that the castle here mentioned was the ancient *Heroopolis*.*

tell us, that about the *Red Sea* they saw neither shrub, nor tree, nor vegetable, except a kind of bramble. But the account they give, as they were advancing towards it, will afford a truer idea of the country. "The next morning (the fourth from *Cairo*) we set out as usual, and during the whole day saw only two trees: but on our right hand was the sepulchre of a *kaijia* or governor of *Suez*, who lost his life here in defending the caravan against a body of *Arabian* robbers. We also saw, in the road, several skeletons of camels, which had sunk under their burdens, and expired in these thirsty deserts. But what appeared much more shocking to us, was a human arm appearing above the sand: this person had been here overtaken with a whirlwind, and was suffocated with the dust."—Let any body judge if in these parts could be situated the best of the land of *Egypt*.

To conclude; the Scriptures, as I have observed, inform us that the place of sojournment allotted to the children of *Israel* was in *Egypt*: "And *Joseph* dwelt in *Egypt*, he and his father's house." The first thing for these learned men to have inquired into should have been what was *Egypt*. This many of them took but little pains to be certified of: and the errors abovementioned are in consequence of this failure.

Thus have I given an account of the miscarriages of some eminent writers out of many, who have been engaged in this subject. In prosecuting which, I have not exhibited the whole series of their mistakes: but have thought it sufficient, if I could shew that they were fundamentally in the wrong. Many of these writers were undoubtedly men of consummate parts and learning: great artists, who laid in excellent store of materials for their purpose; as may be seen from what they produce upon the occasion. It was through a misapplication of these materials, that they failed in the execution. Instead

of because some have thought that the castle here mentioned was the ancient *Hieropolis*. I quote this passage.

² *Genes.* 50. v. 22.

of setting out upon something well known and warranted; the first postulatam they make is matter of guess and surmise. This is ascertained by other conjectures; till the evidence does not amount to the lowest degree of probability: nay, their allegations are found repugnant both to history and reason; and are many times absolutely ridiculous. What can be more strange than ³ Dr. *Shaw's* method of investigation? who determines the land of *Goshen* by the place of residence of *Pharaoh*; and *Pharaoh's* residence by the flight of ⁴ grasshoppers.

In these inquiries we ought ever to have before our eyes the example of a skilful *Chemist*. A good operator, when he has carefully collected his ingredients, produces from them some highly rectified and ethereal spirit; some sovereign and salutary essence, that is as grateful as it is beneficial. But the giddy *Empirick* suffers the volatile part to escape; and preserves nothing but a dull insipid phelgm; meer dregs and lees, that afford neither pleasure nor profit.

³ Travels or observations relating to several parts of *Barbary* and the *Levant* by *Tho. Shaw*. D.D. Oxford. 1738.

⁴ It was a west wind that took away the locusts from *Egypt*. For which reason Dr. *Shaw* supposes the abode of *Pharaoh* to have been at *Memphis*, rather than at *Tanis*; as *Memphis* lay more to the west of the *Red Sea*, whither they were carried. Now the *Hebrews* seem to have acknowledged but four winds: "And upon *Elam* will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven." *Jeremiah* 49. 36. So that the west wind is to be considered under a great latitude. Besides, as all *Egypt* lay more or less west of this sea, and the greatest part due west; this argument would become too universal; and would afford many places an equal claim. But the whole is too vague to prove any thing. The plague of locusts was not at the place of royal residence only, but every where; at *Tanis* as well as *Memphis*. The removing the king's seat would not remove the difficulty, if there were any; nor can any thing by this means be determined. And after all, the words *Ruab yam* signify only a sea wind, a wind from the *Mediterranean*, as a learned writer has well observed.

OF THE
C A U S E S,
WHENCE

Many ERRORS have arisen in Inquiries made into
Ancient History.

MANY mistakes happen in geographical inquiries from the use of little despicable maps, of a contracted scale: by which means a writer is more easily induced to pursue his own visionary schemes; transposing and accommodating every object, as his particular fancy leads him. For the chart he makes use of being mean and scanty, his mistakes are not so palpable; and the violence he is guilty of not so glaring. Were the countries he treats of, fairly and amply defined; the changes and transpositions, which he so arbitrarily deals in, would appear gross to his own eye: and he would be shocked with the wantonness of his imagination.

I have shewn that many of the learned authors I have spoken of were very rich in knowledge; and had noble resources to apply to. But they were too hasty; too soon satisfied: and, like many others, set out originally upon a system, to which every thing was to be reduced. They did not take time to sift, and to compare the evidences that they had collected: and, without diligent canvassing and comparing in these dark inquiries, the truth can never be obtained. The historians which they appeal to, are neither precise nor accurate: so that singly they are often unintelligible. There is therefore no certain way of proceeding, but to take their evidence collectively; and make them correct and explain one another.

But

But the chief cause of this uncertainty in profane history, and the many errors in consequence of it, has arisen from the false delicacy of the *Grecian* writers; through whose hands these histories have been transmitted to us. Their ears were so unnecessarily nice, that they could not endure to represent things in their native dress: but changed the names both of men and countries; in order to accommodate them to their own idiom and pronunciation. Nor were they content with bare inflexions of words and terminations; but were guilty of a puerile levity, in catching at every similitude of sound; and thinking that the etymology of every name which they met with was to be found in the *Greek*: at least their language was a canon, by which all others were to be modelled. This was the standard, to which every thing was brought; and if they met with any names that would not abide the trial, they deemed them barbarous, and entirely omitted them. *Strabo* fairly confesses that this was his way of proceeding. ¹ Οὐ λεγω δὲ τῶν ἐθνῶν τὰ ὀνόματα τὰ παλαιὰ, διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καὶ ἅμα ἀτοπίαν τῆς ἐκφορᾶς αὐτῶν. The ancient historian *Cephalæon* says the same. ² Ἐμοὶ δὲ ἡ γράφη τι τερπνόν, ἢ τι χαρίεν ἐμελλεν εἶναι ὀνομακλήδην, ἀνευ πράξεων βαρβαρῶν φωνεόντι τυραννέες δειλές, καὶ μαλακὲς βαρβαρές; On this account ³ *Josephus* was afraid to mention the names of the persons who composed the family of his great ancestor *Jacob*; lest they should prove uncouth to the nice ears of his readers: Τα μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα δηλωσαὶ τετῶν οὐκ ἐδοκιμαζόν, καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν αὐτῶν. But having made some apology, and smoothed
and

¹ *Strab.* Vol. 2. p. 1123.

² Ἐκ τῶν Κεφαλαιῶνος apud Euseb. Chron. Can. Edit. Scal. p. 30.

³ Ant. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. *Plato* informs us, that *Solon*, who wrote concerning *Egypt*, would not admit the names of men or places into his poems, without a thorough alteration. *Plato* in *Critia*. This, I suppose, was effected two ways; either by changing the names to words the nearest in sound; or translating them to such as were of the same meaning.

and polished them, he at last ventures to produce them. Sometimes they only translated the names of places; which was something tolerable: for there was then a chance of recurring to the primitive language, and recovering the original; as the meaning would lead one to the truth. But they were too vain to be consistent even in this: and what one advanced, another confounded; each thinking that he had a right to change things, and new model them to his taste. Above all things they strove to introduce their own gods and heroes; and to attribute every thing to their performance, wheresoever transacted. Their vanity was so great in this respect, and their prejudices so strong, that it led them into a thousand childish errors: but, where they were not originally mistaken, they wilfully deviated; imposing names on places, and adding legendary stories, which they must know were foreign to the countries where they introduce them. Hence we are informed that one branch of the *Nile* was denominated from a sailor of ⁷ *Menelaus*, and another from *Peleus* of *Thessaly*: that *Perseus* gave name to *Persia*; and that the *Medes* received their name from *Medea*; and what happened upon the occasion. For they were never guilty of a mistake, but they framed some story to support it: hence *Scaliger's* sarcasm; *Græculorum est mentiri, et falsa veris affingere.* *Pliny* too is very severe upon them on this head. He had often experienced their vanity and affectation, and had detected their idle notions: on which account he passes a bitter but just censure; ⁸ *Mirum est quo procedat Græca credulitas! nullum tam impudens mendacium est, ut teste careat.* ⁹ *Cicero* speaks

⁷ *Ammian. Marcellinus*; *Steph. Byzantinus* &c, *passim.* *Euseb. Canon.* *Isagog. Lib. 3.*

⁸ *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 8. Cap. 22.* *Τῶν δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστορίων Ἕλληνες ἢ μεμνηταί.* *Theoph. ad Autol. Lib. 3.*

⁹ *Orat. pro Flacco. Sect. 4.*

speaks to the same purpose: *Tribuo illis literas, do multarum artium disciplinam:—testimoniorum religionem et fidem nunquam ista natio coluit.* I know no writer of more eminence than *Plutarch*. He was a man of great depth in philosophy, and every species of learning; and has left behind a collection of most valuable tracts. Yet, maugre his sense and abilities, he is most shamefully trifling in the etymology of words; and, like the rest of his fraternity, is for bringing every thing within the narrow circle of his own little district. He was thoroughly acquainted with the high antiquity of *Egypt*: yet tells us that the goddess *Isis* was called so from the word *ἰσια*; that the *Egyptian Anubis* was derived from the *Greek* word *ανω*; the antient god *Orus* from *ὄραω*; and that *Osiris* was *quasi isēros*. This prurulence of wit was contagious: none of the *Greeks* could escape it. The liberties they took, in the etymologies of words, as well as in the inflexions, was animadverted upon by *Josephus*, as *Bochart* takes notice. ¹ *Ut Josephus rectè observat, Græcis scriptoribus id in more est, ut peregrina et barbara nomina, quantum licet, ad Græcam formam emolliant.—Sic illis Ar Moabitarum est Αρεοπολις; Botsra, Βουρσα; Akis, Αγκες; Astarte, Αστροαρχη; torrens Kison, χειμαρρὸς των Κισσων; torrens Kedron, ² χειμαρρὸς των Κεδρων, et talia ὡσεὶ κωνις.* *Bochart* indeed speaks only of their softening and accommodating the terms: but, in reality, both the mode and essence of the words is changed; so that there remains nothing but a shadow for the substance. And *Josephus* shews a proper indignation in another place at their vanity; calling them to account for their high pretensions; and accusing them of having sophisticated and ruined the best of antient history.

Πως

¹ Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 19.

² Περὶ τῶν χειμαρρῶν των Κεδρων. *Et si in omnibus libris est hæc lectio, quam et Nonnus agnoscit, tamen videtur D. Hieronymus in locis Hebraïcis, ubi de Cedron agit et hunc locum citat, veram lectionem agnoscere, quæ est τῶν Κεδρων.* *Is. Casaub. notæ in Joan. 18. v. 1.*

Ἔπειτα ἐκ αὐτῶν τετυφώσθαι τὰς Ἑλλήνας, ὡς μόνους ἐπιστάμενους τὰ ἀρχαία, καὶ τὴν ἀληθειᾶν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκριβῶς παραδίδοντας; ἢ τίς ἔπαρ' αὐτῶν συγγραφεὺν μάθοι ῥαδίως, ὅτι μὴδὲν βεβαίως εἰδοτὸς συνεγγραφόν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστος περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων εἰκαζόντο; πλεῖον γὰρ διὰ τῶν βιβλίων ἀλλήλους ἐλεγχεσσι, καὶ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν λεγέειν ἐκ οὐκ ἐκ.

Great part of the knowledge that we are possessed of, in relation to antient times, has been transmitted to us through the hands of the *Grecians*: for which we are to make proper acknowledgements. But when we consider how much more they might have transmitted, and how foul and turbid the streams are, that are derived to us; it takes off much from the obligation. In short, there is no medium to be held with this wonderful people. One while we gaze with astonishment at their extensive parts, their exquisite taste, and the unparalleled beauty of their compositions: at other times we cannot help looking down with pity and indignation, to see all these leavened and ruined by a puerility and vanity, that the *Goths* were strangers to. Of this unhappy turn in the best writers in *Greece*, and of the fatal consequences in regard to historical truth, I shall often have occasion to speak in the course of the following treatise.

3 *Contra Apion*. Lib. 1. Cap. 3.

A SHORT

A C C O U N T

OF THE

G E O G R A P H Y O F E G Y P T.

THE great misfortune that I have been lamenting in the writings of the preceding learned men, has been their fondness for hypothesis; by which they have been too easily and too frequently seduced: this too at a time, when their learning gave them great advantages: and had they set out at first upon good principles, it must necessarily have led them to the discoveries they were aiming at. That I may not fall into the same mistakes that I have been complaining of in others, I will give a short account of the history and geography of *Egypt*; at least of those parts with which I shall be principally concerned, as far as I can collect it from the best authorities. This being fairly stated will afford me good grounds to proceed upon in my subsequent inquiries: that I may not mould and fashion the country to favour my own particular notions and prejudices; but make my system accord to the history and nature of the country.

I have mentioned that all to the east of lower *Egypt* was a desert: no provinces nor cities were there. I have proved it from the best accounts that I could obtain: and it will now be my business to give the true situation of these places, that have been so mistaken and transposed. It cannot be expected, that the form and limits of the *Egyptian* provinces are exactly the same at this day, that they were in times past.

A

A land that has been annually overflowed, must in many places have suffered a change, during an interval of so many ages. Many of the antient canals have in process of time been choked up, and new ones formed; which has caused some variation: yet the external shape of the country, and original outlines, are nearly the same now that they were of old.

As *Egypt* was one of the most antient, so was it one of the most extensive kingdoms, that for many ages subsisted in the world. Those of *Assyria* and *Babylonia* were for a long time confined within narrow limits, if compared with what they were afterwards. But *Egypt* seems to have been respectable from the beginning; and the most early accounts, that we can arrive at, bear witness of it's eminence and power. It is true, the first inhabitants seem to have settled in the upper parts, near the *Thebais*: but they soon got possession of the whole. And though they might not be all under one head; yet they were of the same family, and constituted a mighty nation. They were esteemed a very wise and learned people; so that ¹*Moses* is said to have been "learned in all the wisdom of the *Egyptians*." They were likewise very powerful and populous: and there are said to have been in the days of *Amasis* thirty thousand cities in *Egypt*. The fruitfulness of the country is well known by the large imposts that were laid upon it in after times. Besides the tribute of corn, they paid to the *Romans* large taxes in specie: which, according to *Cicero*, as quoted by ²*Strabo*, amounted in the reign of *Ptolemy Auletes* to ³12500 talents. But nothing can give one a greater
notion

¹ Acts. 7. v. 22.

² 2,421,875 £. See *Arbutnot's* Tables. p. 192.

³ But this was esteemed trifling: for *Auletes* was a very indolent and weak prince. "If he raised so much," says *Strabo*, "what must have been the revenues of other kings? or what may we compute the advantages made from *Egypt* to amount to at this time, when the taxes are
" col-

notion of their wealth, than the account of the treasure, that had been heaped up by the first *Ptolemy*, as it is described by *Appian*; who assures us that, at the death of this prince, there were found in his treasury 4 seventy four myriads of talents. These circumstances, together with the costly structures which they erected, the mighty works they were engaged in, and the œconomy and establishment of their government, must raise in us a high idea of the affluence and power which this knowing people were possessed of, while they were their own masters. Such were the *Egyptians* in their better days :

Τα δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὀλβία ταῦτα λελεῖπται —

all these happy circumstances have been a long time at an end: *Egypt*, in the midst of it's prosperity, was doomed to a fatal change. It was to become ⁵ *a base kingdom*: and for above two thousand years it has been *the basest of kingdoms*: neither in all that vast interval of time has there been once a *prince* of that nation.

The antiquity of this kingdom may be seen by its founders *Ham* and *Mizraim*; by whose names the country was of old called, nor are they obliterated at this day. *Plutarch* tells us that the priests of *Egypt* in the mysteries of *Isis* called their country ⁶ *Chemia*. *Hesychius* terms it *Hermochemia*, and says it was the antient name: Ἑρμοχημῖος γῆ, ἡ Αἰγυπτὸς το πρῶτερον ἔτῳς

εκα-

“collected with so much exactness, and there is the additional trade of “*India* and the *Ethiopians* to contribute?” Ὅπως οὖν ὁ κακιστὰ καὶ ῥαθυμοτάτῃα τὴν βασιλείαν διοικῶν τοσαύτῃα προσωδευέτο, τί χρὴ νομισαί τὰ νῦν, διὰ τοσαύτης ἐπιμελείας οἰκονομαμένα, καὶ τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ἐμποριῶν καὶ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτικῶν ἐπιτηξήμενων ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ; Vol. 2. pag. 1149.

⁴ 191,166,666 £. 13s. 4d. See *Arbutnot's* Tables. p. 192.

⁵ *Ezekiel*. 29. v. 14, 15.—30. v. 13.

⁶ Ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν—Χημία καλεσθῆναι. *De Is. et Osir. Herodotus* says, ἐστὶ δὲ Χημῖς πόλις μεγάλη νομῶ τῇ Θηβαϊκῇ. Lib. 2. Cap. 9. He speaks of the people called *Chemmitæ*, *ibid.* of a nome of that name, *ibid.* and of an island called *Chemmis* near the city *Butus* in lower *Egypt*. Cap. 156. All which is analogous to the land of *Ham* in the Scriptures. LXX. *Interpretes*—*Cbam transfulerunt, pro eo quod est Ham, a quo et Ægyptus usque hodie Ægyptiorum linguâ Ham dicitur. Hieron. Quæst. in Genes.*

καλεῖτο. *Stephanus* gives it the name of 7 *Misore* or *Mysōra*; the meaning of which is obvious. In respect to it's extent; the *Greeks* describe it under three large and principal divisions, that comprehend lower *Egypt*, upper *Egypt*, and a third that was uppermost of all; which extended to *Philæ* and *Syene*. These were termed ἡ κατω, ἡ ανω, and ἡ ανωτατη χωρα. Great mistakes have ensued from not rightly understanding the meaning of these terms: for they are always relative to the true situation of the country, and the course of the river; which descends from the higher lands to the lower, till it loses itself in the sea. *Delta* therefore, that was situated among the branches of the *Nile*, was esteemed the lowest of all. ⁸ Καλεῖται δὲ κοινως ἡ περι τετες της ποταμης χωρα κατω.

It is observable that, from the confines of *Ethiopia* downward, *Egypt* is for a long way very narrow; being bounded on each side with mountains, between which the river descends: and, according to the determination of most geographers of antiquity, it separates *Africa* from *Asia*; and more particularly *Libya* from *Arabia*. Here was the general boundary of the two great continents. This however is greatly disapproved of by *Herodotus*. He objects to the decision of those people, who attribute part of *Egypt* to one country, and part to another.

He

⁷ *Zonaras*. Vol. i. p. 21. Μεσρεμ δὲ Μεσραιων προπατωρ εγενετο. Ουτω δὲ καλενται Αιγυπτιοι, και ἡ της Αιγυπτου χωρα Μεσρεμ ονομαζεται. *Urbs Fostat est ipsamet Metzr, sic dicta a Mezram filio Cam, filii Noë, cui pax. Geograph. Nubiensis*. p. 97. "Aujourd'huy les Juifs l'appellent encore "Mizraim: mais les Arabes et les Turcs luy donnent de Mitzir ou "Mitzri; combien que Leon asseure, que les Juifs l'appellent Mezraim, et les Arabes Mezré; et les habitans l'appellent El Quiber. "Les Syriens nomment les Egyptiens Ægophtes, et les Mahometans "d'Egypt les Chrestiens du mesme pays El Hib, et El Kupti, ou "Kupti sans article, au lieu de Gupti ou Egupti; et les Ethiopiens appellent les mesme Giptu ou Gibetu." *Davity*. p. 256. The same author says of *Cairo*; "Les Arabes l'appellent aujourd'huy Mazar ou "Mezir; les Armeniens Massar; les Chaldeens Al Chabir, et les Hebreux Mithraim, de mesme que l'Egypte." p. 267.

⁸ *Ptol. Geogr.* Edit. Bertii. Lib. 4.

He therefore varies in some degree from this disposition; and makes *Egypt* itself the boundary between the regions that it borders upon. The country by this means is intermediate, and ascribed to neither. ⁹ Ου γὰρ δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος γέ ἐστι κατὰ τὸν τοῦ λογον ὁ τὴν Ἀσίην ἐρίζων τῇ Λιβύῃ.—ἐρισμα δὲ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Λιβύῃ οἶδαμεν ἔδεν εὖ οὐκ ὀρθῶς λογῶν, εἰ μὴ τὰς Αἰγυπτίων ἐρεῖς. Whether *Herodotus* was aware that any ill consequences would arise from the other way of proceeding, I know not; but it is certain some obscurity has ensued. As long as the river was single, it might well serve to determine the countries on each side: but, when it was branched out into many streams, it became difficult to say to which part of the world the intermediate provinces were to be assigned. Therefore some have referred them to *Lybia*, others to *Arabia*, without any just reason to determine them: which has induced many people to alter their true position; and to transfer them in their maps to those countries, imagining that such was their situation. But this, being only a matter of reference, should not have affected the real order and disposition of those states. How *Egypt* was situated and bounded, we are very clearly informed by *Leo Africanus*: *Ægyptus, clarissima regio, ab occidente desertis Barcæ, Libyæ, ac Numidiæ clauditur; ab oriente desertis, quæ Ægypto et Mari Rubro interjacent.* The account of *Strabo* is agreeable to the foregoing: ¹ Αἰγυπτὸς — ἀπο μὲν τῶν ἀρκτῶν ἀλιμενῶ παραλίᾳ καὶ πελάγει τῇ Αἰγυπτίῳ φερεμένη· ἀπο δὲ τῆς ἑὸς καὶ τῆς ἑσπερας, ἐρημοῖς (καὶ) ὄρεσι, τοῖς τε Λιβυκοῖς καὶ τοῖς Ἀραβίοις, ὥσπερ ἐφάμεν.

The

⁹ Lib. 2. Cap. 17. This is the opinion of *Herodotus*; but he is not followed in it: ἐπερχέσθαι δὲ ὁ Νεῖλος, ἐπεὶ πλεονάζει, οὐ μόνον τὸ Δέλτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ Λιβυκὰ τε λεγόμενα χωρία εἶναι, καὶ τὰ Ἀραβία ἐνίαχη. *Herod.* Lib. 2. Cap. 19. Αἰγυπτὸς ὁμοῦρος τῇ Λιβύῃ. Lib. 2. Cap. 65.

¹ Vol 2. p. 1174. Καὶ is certainly wanting—"with deserts and with mountains." The lower parts were bounded with deserts, the upper with mountains. Without this the force and precision of the writer is lost.

The whole extent of this country from north to south was computed to be about six hundred miles: and consisted, as I before observed, of three principal divisions; and those subdivided into smaller provinces, called by the *Greeks* Νομοί, but by the natives *Tabir*. The number of them has been computed to have been thirty six; ² δεκα μεν ἡ Θηβαῖς, δεκα δ' ἡ ἐν τῷ Δέλτα, ἑκαταδεκα δ' ἡ μεταξυ. ³ *Diodorus* makes the same distribution. But of this we can have no certainty, on account of the disagreement that is found among writers upon this subject, who add and diminish too arbitrarily. *Pliny* takes notice of this inconsistency, and mentions some particulars. ⁴ *Quidam ex his aliqua nomina permutant, et substituunt alios nomos, ut Heroopoliten, Crocodilopoliten*. In short, wherever there was a city, the *Grecians* added a nome; ⁵ which very much confused and encumbered the geography of those parts. Hence *Epiphanius*, speaking of the word νομος, does not hesitate to define it in this manner; την περιχωρον της τυχεσης πολιος σημαίνει: ⁶ “it was the environs of every city.” At which rate, as *Egypt* is said to have once had ⁷ thirty thousand cities; it should follow, that there were so many nomes.

The river that waters the whole country is the *Nile*; which is single for some hundreds of miles downwards, running in one direction: or, if it be at any time separated by the interposition of an island, the streams unite again soon; and it proceeds in its usual channel. But when it arrives at the extremity of lower *Egypt*, called by the *Greeks* *Delta*, where
stood

² *Strabo*. Vol. 2. p. 1135.

³ Την δε χωραν ἀπασαν εἰς ἑξ και τριακοντα μερη διελων [Σεσωσις.] Lib. 1. pag. 35.

⁴ *Nat. Hist.* Lib. 5. Cap. 9.

⁵ *Strabo* mentions nomes that never existed. He has one near the *Red Sea* called the *Phagroriopolitan*, which was quite imaginary.

⁶ In like manner *Cyrril. Alexandr.* tells us, that among the *Egyptians* a nome was a city, and the country about it, with the dependent villages. Νομος ἑκάστη πολις και αἱ περιουκιδες αὐτης, και αἱ ὑπ' αὐτη κωμαι. In *Esaiam*. Cap. 19.

⁷ See *Theocritus*. Idyll. 17.

stood the city *Cercafora*; it is divided into two very considerable branches, which inclose all the country below, and never unite again. They are called the *Canobic* and *Pelusiæ* branches; and are the extreme of all others into which the river is divided. At the same time that this separation is made, the river still keeps on his course downward; having a sufficient supply of water to fill the *Sebennitic* channel, which forms one of the most considerable mouths of the *Nile*. For this we have the testimony of *Herodotus*; who in his accounts of these parts is more particular and intelligible, and far more to be depended on than any other writer. ⁸Ο γὰρ

δη Νεῖλος ἀρξάμενος ἐκ τῶν Καταδύπων, ῥέει, μέσῃν Αἰγύπτῳ σχίζων, ἐς Θάλασσαν. Μέχρι μὲν νῦν Κερκασῶρα πολὺς ῥέει εἰς εὐν ὁ Νεῖλος· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς πολὺς σχίζεται τριφασίας ὁδοῦς. Καὶ ἡ μὲν πρὸς ἡμῶν τρεπεται, τὸ καλεῖται Πηλυσίον ὄμα· ἡ δὲ ἕτερη τῶν ὁδῶν πρὸς ἑσπερὴν ἔχει· τὴν δὲ Κανωβικὸν ὄμα κεκληται· ἡ δὲ δη ἰθεα τῶν ὁδῶν τῷ Νεῖλῳ ἐστὶ ἡδε. Ἀνωθεν φερόμενος, ἐς τὸ ὄξυ τῆς Δελτᾶ ἀπικνεῖται· τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς, σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δελτὰ ἐς Θάλασσαν ἐξίει, ὅτε ἐλαχίστην μοῖρην τῆς ὕδατος παρεχόμενος ταύτην, οὔτε ἡχίστα ἐνομασθῆν· τὸ καλεῖται Σεβέννυτικὸν ὄμα. Agreeable to this is the description of the *Nile*, as we find it in ⁹*Achilles Tatius*: though the passage is very much depraved. The purport of it, as it stands corrected, is this. The general *Charmidas* ordered his men to encamp at a particular place. “The situation of the village,” says

⁸ Lib. 2. Cap. 17.

⁹ Εἶχε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἄνω τῆς κωμῆς ἡ θέσις. Ὁ Νεῖλος ῥεῖ μὲν ἀνωθεν ἐκ Θηβῆς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐς τοσούτου ῥέων ἀχρι Μεμφεως, καὶ ἐστὶ μικρὸν κατὰ κερας. Συρὸς ὄνομα τῇ κωμῇ πρὸς τὸ τελεῖ τῆς μεγάλης ῥεύματος. Εὐτεὺθεν δὲ περιρρήγνυται τῇ γῇ, καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς ποταμοῦ γίνονται τρεῖς, δύο μὲν ἑκατέρωθεν λεγόμενοι, ὁ δὲ εἰς καὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Δελτᾶ ποιεῖν. *Achill. Tatius. Lib. 4.* It wants a great deal of amendment:

Instead of καὶ ἐστὶ μικρὸν κατὰ κερας Συρὸς ὄνομα τῇ κωμῇ,

read καὶ ἐστὶ μικρὸν κατὰ Κερκασῶρα ὄνομα τῇ κωμῇ,

and for ὁ δὲ εἰς καὶ τὴν γῆν εἰς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Δελτᾶ ποιεῖν,

read ὁ δὲ εἰς κατὰ τὴν γῆν εἰσὶν, τὸ σχῆμα τῆς Δελτᾶ ποιεῖν. The two extreme branches inclosed the land, and the centre or *Sebennytic* ran through and divided it. The latter part is an imitation of *Herodotus* — σχίζων μέσον τὸ Δελτὰ ἐς Θάλασσαν ἐξίει.

says the author, " was this. The river *Nile* descends from "*Thebes*;" (which for distinction's sake, he calls *Egyptian Thebes*) " and runs single and undivided as far as *Memphis*, and for a " little way below. The place where the grand stream of the " river ends, that is, where it is first divided into separate " branches, is called *Cercasuros*. At this point it is broken ; " and of one stream it forms three. Two of them run down " on each side upon the extremities of the country: but the " other, the centre stream, runs through the land, and in it's " passage divides lower *Egypt*."

As long as the *Nile* ran in a single channel, which was above four hundred miles, it was inhabited both on the *Arabian* and *Libyan* side; having all the way a ridge of mountains to the east and to the west, which were a security to the natives. A few miles below *Memphis*, just where lower *Egypt* commenced, the mountains¹ of *Arabia* ceased ; reaching no farther downward to the north, though eastward they extended to the *Red Sea*. The last city on this side the river was *Aphroditopolis*, the capital of a nome it gave name to. What other places occur below, such as *Latopolis*, (which was the antient *Babylon*,) together with *Scenæ Mandræ*, *Scenæ Veteranorum*, *Vicus Judæorum*, seem to have been never of any great repute, and generally deserted. And when they were occupied, it was chiefly by foreigners, who obtained leave of the princes of *Egypt* to take up their habitation within them. Some of them were only *Tabernacula*, booths for the security of cattle during the inundation of the *Nile*. However, as these parts were separated from the body of *Egypt*; the *Jews*, who during the captivity and afterwards betook themselves to this country, thought it no despicable spot to settle in. They accordingly got permission to rebuild some of the places that had been long in ruins: and the hill, that was opposite

¹ *Herodotus* speaks of the whole ridge of hills in the singular number, and calls it the mountain of *Arabia*. Lib. 2. Cap. 8.

posite to *Babylon*, is still called *Jibel Jebeusi*; retaining their name to this day. These towns were situated nearly in a line with the uppermost point of *Delta*. *Babylon* in particular was opposite to that point, where the *Nile* first divided; and likewise opposite to the *Pyramids* on the *Libyan* side of the river. Beyond these there were no places of abode downward; excepting perhaps one called *Thou*. This may be proved from the *Itinerary* of ² *Antoninus*. For having given an account of all the cities on the *Arabian* side of the *Nile*; as soon as he has specified *Babylon*, *Heliou*, *Vicus Judæorum*, *Thou*; he, as it were at a leap, passes at once to *Heroopolis*, and the towns on the *Red Sea*: which were nearly in the same parallel as the others. So that there was certainly neither province nor city below these mentioned, to the east of the great *Pelusiæ* branch. All that way, as I have before shewn, was a desert to the borders of *Palestine*.

The same inference may be made from *Ptolemy*; who, omitting some of the places mentioned in the *Itinerary*, takes notice but of three towns in *Arabia*, I mean so low as *Delta*, between the *Nile* and the *Red Sea*; ³ *Εν μεθορίῳ Αραβίας καὶ Αφροδιτοπολεως, Βαβυλων, Ἡλιεπολις*, and then, at a great distance, *Ἡρωνων πολις*. The reason of this difference between the two writers seems to arise from hence. *Ptolemy* is describing the chief cities of the earth, and takes notice of them only: the other is giving an account of roads, and the places to be passed

² *Anton. Itinerar.*

In ARABIA.

<i>Aphroditopolis</i>	_____	_____	_____	_____
<i>Scenas Mandras</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XX.
<i>Babylon</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XII.
<i>Heliu</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XII.
<i>Scenas Veteranorum</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XVIII.
<i>Vicum Judæorum</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XII.
<i>Thou</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XII.
<i>Hero</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XXIV.
<i>Serapin</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. XVIII.
<i>Clysma</i>	_____	_____	_____	M. P. L.

³ *Geogr. Lib. 4.*

passed through in going from one country to another. He therefore takes in all; not only cities and towns, but *γαθμοι*, *hydreumata*, *lapides*, *tabernacula*, places both inhabited and otherwise, together with the distances between them. He omits nothing that can be looked upon as a landmark. In the main point they agree: neither of them placing either nome or city in *Arabia*, to the east of lower *Egypt*; which is what I wanted to prove. For as to *Sile* and *Thaubazium*, mentioned in another part of the *Itinerary*; they were very obscure places, and probably named and distinguished for landmarks, or for the sake of water; such as *Agerud*, *Agiuz*, and *Hospitium filii Saïd* mentioned by modern travellers and in the *Nubian* geographer. Many places are referred to in the *Itinerary* without names, consequently not towns, nor habitations; such as *contra Psellos*, *contra Talmas*, *contra Lato*, &c; spots of ground to be passed over, that could not be described but by places they were opposite to. There is no reason to think that *Sile* or *Thaubazium* were inhabited; for they occur no where else: and the author his self does not set them down in his list of *Arabian* cities. And if it should be found that there were some inhabitants, it would not affect my argument. For I would not be thought to contend, that there was not a straggling town or two scattered in the range of the country, like *Palmyra* in the desert: though I do not know that there were any; nor do I think that the nature of the country would admit of it. All that I insist upon is, that there were no nomes, nor places of any repute: particularly, that the provinces of *Delta*, generally referred to *Arabia*, were within the precincts of the *Nile*, and in the best of *Egypt*.

These provinces were *Phacusa*, *Bubastus* and *Heliopolis*; three of the most remarkable nomes. As I have taken some pains to shew where they were not situated, it is time to relieve the reader, and to determine where they were. They were all contiguous to each other, and towards the summit of
lower

lower *Egypt*. I have been obliged to be thus particular in my proof; because *Heliopolis* is almost by every writer placed to the east of the *Nile*; and the neighbouring provinces are transposed with it. It is well known that the country called *Delta* was termed so from the resemblance it bore to the *Greek* letter of that name. It is a large triangle; whose sides are included by the *Pelusiæ* and *Canobic* branches of the *Nile*, and its basis is formed by the sea. "As you proceed upwards," says *Herodotus*, "from the sea through the middle of *Egypt*, the country may be esteemed broad, till you get as high as *Heliopolis*; being all the way open and champain, marshy and without water—As you pass upwards from *Heliopolis*, it grows narrow on account of the mountain of *Arabia*, that here runs parallel with the country, tending from north to south, and continually verging towards the *Red Sea*. In this mountain are the 4 quarries, from whence the stones were taken for the construction of the pyramids, that are near *Memphis*. Here [at these quarries] is the hither end of the mountain, from whence it extends itself in the direction I have mentioned." 5 Ενθενθεν μὲν καὶ μέχρι Ἡλιεπολίου ἐς τὴν μεσογαιαν ἐστὶ εὐρεὰ Αἰγύπτος, εὐστα πάσα ὕψιτι τε καὶ ἀνυδρὸς, καὶ ἰλὺς. κ. τ. λ. Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιεπολίου ἀνω ἰόντι, σείνη ἐστὶν Αἰγύπτος· τῇ μὲν γὰρ τῆς Ἀραβίης ὄρος παρὰ τεταταί, φέρου ἀπ' ἀρκτὸς πρὸς μεσαμβρίας τε καὶ νοτῶν, αἰεὶ ἀνω τείνον ἐς τὴν ἐρυθρὴν καλεομένην θάλασσαν· ἐν τῷ αἰλίθοτομαί ἐνεῖσι, αἱ ἐς τὰς πυραμίδας κατατμήθεισαι τὰς ἐν Μερφί. Ταυτὴ μὲν λήγον, ἀνακαμπτεῖ ἐς τὰ εἰρητὰ ὄρος. It is manifest from hence that the nome of *Heliopolis* was a mediterranean district: and consequently the two provinces *Phacusa* and *Bubastus*, that are always mentioned with it, were so likewise. This is evident from *Ptolemy*; who, in giving an account of all the nomes in lower *Egypt* from the bottom upwards, ends with these three; 6 Ἀραβίας νομός, καὶ μητροπολις Φακῶσα· Βα-

βα-

4 There was a town there that they gave name to, called *Latopolis*.

5 L b. 2. Cap. 8.

6 Geogr. Lib. 4.

Βασιτις νομος, και μητροπολις Βαβυλωνος. 'Ηλιεπολιτις νομος, και μητροπολις 'Ηλιεπολις. The first of these *Phacusa*, called by *Strabo Phaccusa*, but mentioned only as a village, was the province at whose summit the *Nile* was first divided, where stood the city *Cercasora*. Many writers, misled by it's being called the *Arabian* nome, have supposed it to be situated in that country: but I have shewn that it could not be so. Besides, what may seem a paradox, this very circumstance of it's being called the *Arabian* nome proves it. The author of the *Itinerary* mentions many places of upper *Egypt*, that were in *Arabia*: and *Ptolemy* speaks of several nomes above *Delta*, to the number of nineteen or twenty, one half of which (at least a great number) were to the east of the *Nile*, and in *Arabia*. Among others *Aphroditopolis*, *Antinoopolis*, *Panopolis* were certainly there. If *Phacusa* had been in that part of the world, they could never have called it the *Arabian* province by way of distinction; when there were so many others that were in the same situation. The title conferred upon it would not have been adequate to the end proposed: and what would have been given by way of eminence to particularize, must have proved matter of doubt and confusion. The title therefore was conferred for another reason; as I shall hereafter shew. *Ptolemy* has taken care to guard us against this mistake; by distinguishing between the province termed *Arabian*, and the places that were really in that country: Αραβιας νομος, και μητροπολις Φακυσσα. The nome called *Arabian* was *Phacusa*; but the places really situated upon the borders of that part of the world were *Babylon*, *Heliopolis*, *Heroum*: εν μεθοριω Αραβιας και Αφροδιτοπολεως, Βαβυλων, 'Ηλιεπολις, 'Ηρωων πολις. From hence we gain this additional evidence, that there were two cities of *Egypt* called *Heliopolis*; which is a circumstance that has never been attended to by any one historian antient or modern, and has been the cause of very great confusion. The first of these was a city of lower

Egypt,

Egypt, that gave name to a province; the same that is so particularly mentioned by *Herodotus*. The other was a city to the east of the *Nile* in *Arabia*; whose situation is thus described in the *Itinerary*, agreeable to what is above said by *Ptolemy*;

Apbrodito _____

Scenas Mandras _____

M. P. XX.

Babylon _____

M. P. XII.

Heliu _____

M. P. XII.

Neither the last city nor *Babylon* are mentioned by *Herodotus*; for they did not exist in his time: but the other *Heliopolis*, the more ancient and famous, he gives an ample description of, as we have seen above. It is mentioned too by *Diodorus Siculus* and *Josephus*; but by neither of them accurately: for they make one account of two places, and confound them together. Though some of these writers had been in *Egypt*, yet it is certain that they did not know that there were two cities of the same name; for not one of them, except *Ptolemy*, makes any distinction. They are always confused when they speak of this part of the world; and the circumstances of both places are referred to one only, *Strabo* is in some degree plain and intelligible: for, having mentioned the town of *Phacusa*, and the great canal that began immediately from it,

⁷ Hence *Cellarius* is certainly to blame for placing these three provinces in the deserts of *Arabia*; and for founding his opinion upon the evidence of *Ptolemy*, which he did not sufficiently attend to. *Extra Delta, Arabiam versus, Ptolemaeus tres nomos posuit. Primum dicit Arabiae nomon, cujus metropolim Phacusam facit, Bubastico flumini adpositum: secundum Bubasticum nomon, cujus urbs est Bubastus seu Bubastis ad idem flumen sita, cui nomen dat: tertium Heliopolitanum nomon.* There is a mistake in the first position; for *Ptolemy* does not place these nomes, nor any nomes in *Arabia*. He besides mentions but one *Arabian* nome; though I think *Heliopolis* may likewise be esteemed such: not on account of its situation, but for another reason that I shall hereafter mention. All that *Ptolemy* says is this; *Αραβίας νομος, και μητροπολις Φακισα. Βαβασιτης νομος, και μητροπολις Βαβασος. Ηλιεπολιτης νομος, και μητροπολις Ηλιεπολις. Εν μεθοριω Αραβίας και Αφροδιτοπολεως, Βαβυλων, Ηλιεπολις, Ηρωων πολις.* *Phacusa* is by many writers included in *Heliopolis*, so that one province is constituted out of two.

it, he says, "These places are towards the top of *Delta*: there "is likewise *Bubastus* and it's nome, and likewise *Heliopolis* "above. &c." ⁸ Οὗτοι δ' οἱ τόποι πλησιάζουσιν τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Δελταῖ· αὐτὲς δὲ καὶ ἡ Βυβάστος πόλις, καὶ ὁ Βυβάστιτης νομός, καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡλιοπολίτης νομός. Ἐνταυθα δ' ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Ἡλίας πόλις. His *Epitomis* says the same — περὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς Δελταῖ ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς Βυβάστος πόλις, καὶ Μεμφίς, καὶ Ἡλιοπόλις. In respect to this antient city, *Herodotus* always speaks of it as lying in a line, as you pass from the sea upwards to *Thebes* and superiour *Egypt*. He makes use of it as a landmark to be directed by in going up the *Nile*; as an intermediate point to measure from, in stating the length of the country.

Ἐνθεν μὲν [ἀπὸ Θαλασσης] καὶ μέχρι Ἡλιοπόλεως

L. 2. 7.

ἐστὶ δὲ ὁδὸς ἐς τὴν Ἡλιοπόλιν — ἀνω ἰοντι

L. 2. 7.

ἡ δὲ ἐς Ἡλιοπόλιν ἀπὸ Θαλασσης

L. 2. 7.

ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιοπόλεως ἀνω ἰοντι

L. 2. 8.

ἀπὸ δὲ Ἡλιοπόλεως ἐς Θηβάς ἐστὶ ἀναπλοῦς ἐννεα ἡμερῶν

L. 2. 9.

How can these references be in the least applicable to a place in *Arabia*, beyond the limits of *Egypt*, in quite a different direction? They certainly relate to an interamnian city, that lay in the path marked out; as the antient *Heliopolis* did, the city we have been treating of. The other *Heliopolis* was unknown to *Herodotus*; and was situated quite out of the line of direction, lying to the east of the *Nile* and all its branches: so that it could not be passed by in going up or down the river; nor be any ways referred to, as the other city is referred to.

These uncertainties in the ancient geography have misled the moderns very much: who have neglected their evidence in points where they are universally agreed; and too often copy them, where they differ from one another, and are at variance with themselves. Such has been the obscurity, that has hitherto attended the history of three of the principal *Egyptian* provinces, of which *Heliopolis* was particularly remarkable.

Here

Here was the city *On*, so famous for its temple and religious rites, whose inhabitants are reported to have been *two* *Ar-
yot-rion* *Ar-yot-rion*, the wisest of the Egyptians. The temple is said to have been very magnificent: and its original name was *Ain Shems* or *Shemesh*, the fountain of the sun: from whence the whole province received its name, being called at different periods *Ain*, *Aven*, and *On*. *Bubastus* was to the east of this, and likewise a noted province; separated from the former by the great *Sebennytic* branch; and from *Arabia* by the *Pelusiatic*. It was, like *Heliopolis*, renowned for its temple: which is represented as a magnificent structure; and was dedicated to the goddess *Besheb* or *Besbet*, the *Agreus* *Agreus* or *Diana Agrestis*, as interpreted by the Greeks and Romans. This nome and the chief city of it are the *Phibeseth* of the Scriptures: and they are often mentioned in conjunction with *On* or *Heliopolis*, which was next in situation. The prophet *Ezekiel*, in his denunciation of God's vengeance upon the land of *Egypt*, mentions them as joined together in situation, and partners in calamity. "The young men of *Aven* and of *Phibeseth* shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go in to captivity." Which two places are by the *Seventy* very properly translated *Heliopolis* and *Bubastis*.

There may not possibly at first sight appear any great similitude between *Phibeseth* and *Bubastus*: but they were undoubtedly one and the same place; as may be proved from their situation, and many other circumstances. It is to be observed that the mouth or opening of a river or canal was called by the Hebrews *Pi*, *Pi* or *Phi*. Hence, *Phi Haaroth*,

Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold, I will send and take *Nebuchadnezzar* the King of *Babylon* my servant. — And when he cometh, he shall smite the land of *Egypt*. — He shall break also the images of *Beth Shemesh*, that is in the land of *Egypt*, and the houses of the gods of the Egyptians shall be burnt with fire. *Jeremiah* 43 v. 10, 11—13.

Chap. 30. v. 17.
Exod. 14. v. 2.

que nunc *Bithynia* fertur. In *Eutrop.* lib. 2. v. 247.

before which the children of *Israel* encamped is by the *Seventy* translated *κατα σπονδην* *Heb.* "overagainst the mouth" of *Haaroth* or *Hiroth*; or overagainst the opening of *Haaroth*. The *Egyptians* seem to have used it in the same acceptation for the mouth of a canal; and it often occurs for the canal itself, or branch of a river. Thus *Pithom* was properly the canal of *Thom*; *Phi Neptchim* the canal of *Neptchim*. This was one of the tribes of the *Mizraim*, that settled upon the sea coast in the lower part of *Egypt*, to the west: the same that are mentioned in *Genesis*; 4 "And *Mizraim* begat *Ludim*, and *Ananim*, and *Lehabim*, and *Naphtubim*." In these two instances the word is exactly conformable to the *Hebrew* pronunciation; but it seems in general to have been pronounced with a *B* instead of the letter *P*, which letters are in most languages convertible, and often substituted one for another. Hence the *Bischor* was the canal of the *Sehor* or *Nile* proper, which the *Greeks* called *Busiris*; *Bicalig* was the mouth of the *calig* or canal, which they termed *Bucolicum*; and *Bi Baseth* the river of *Beseth*, the *Phibeseth* of the *Scriptures*, changed by the *Greeks* to *Bibesitus*, and contracted *Bubastus*.⁶ Sometimes it was subjoined to the name of the place that was spoken of; as *Cnoufbi* or *Canoufbi*, the canal or mouth of the *Cnouf*; which the *Greeks* changed to *Canoubicum*; *Athribis*, or, as *Stephanus* reads it, *Atharrhabis*, the mouth or canal of *Athrib*. Nor was this manner of denominating cities from the rivers and canals they stood on peculiar to *Egypt* only, called by the *Hebrews* *Pi* or *Fai*.

³ Than the *Lorde* spake unto *Moses* sayinge: bid the children of *Israel*, that they turn and pitch their tents before the entrynge of *Hiroth*. *Tindall's translation of the Pentateuch*. 1530.

⁴ *Gen.* 10. v. 13. — *Phatnicum* seems to be *Phitanicum*, the mouth of the river *Tanis*.

⁶ The *Greeks* changed it to *Bo* and *Bou*. The *Borysthenes* seems to be *Bo Rutben*, the mouth of the river *Rutben*; called so from the *Rutbeni*. *Bitynia* is of the same composition: *Thynā merce* — *Horace*. *Lib.* 3. *Od.* 7. which is further explained by a passage in *Claudian*: *Thyni Thracæ erant, quæ nunc Bitynia fertur*. In *Eutrop.* *Lib.* 2. v. 247.

ly, and corresponding to the Hebrew idiom: there was a manifest similitude between all the oriental languages; and the same analogy may be observed to extend to those of Phœnicia and Arabia: so that all seem originally to have been little more than dialects of the same tongue. It is true, Joseph affected before his brethren to make use of an interpreter. Yet, that there was a resemblance and affinity between the Egyptian language and the Hebrew is certain; though the Phœnician was still nearer: for that was, according to St. Jerome, *inter Ægyptiacam et Hebræam media, et Hebrææ magnâ ex parte affinis*.

The Latin *bucca*, the Italian and Spanish *bocca*, and the French *bouche* are all derived from hence; and are often made use of in the same signification. It was differently pronounced in different ages, as well as different countries. The city *Bona* on the coast of Barbary is a corruption of *Bo* or *Bo Anab*; the city at the mouth of the river *Anab* or *Anab. Bizerta* is the city at the mouth of the *Zered* or *Zerd*. The natives say, it is derived from *Ben Zerd*, "the offspring of the canal or rivulet:" but it certainly, without any strain or alteration, signifies the mouth of the river it stands upon; which is called the *Zered* or *Zerd*. This may be inferred from the history of it. ⁹ "Eight miles to the south by west of cape *Blanco*, at the bottom of a large gulf, is the city *Bizerta*; pleasantly situated upon a canal, betwixt an extensive lake and the sea." Again; "the gulf of *Bizerta*, the *Sinus Hipponensis* of the antients, is a beautiful sandy inlet:" and the city stands at the mouth of it. The *Boujah*, the antient *Salda*, mentioned by the same author, is *Beoujah*,

⁷ In *Esfalam*. Lib. 2. Cap. 19.

⁸ Instead of *Bo Anab* or *Anab* it is now called *Blaid al Aneb*, or the town of *Aneb*: but the country round about preserves the ancient name; being still called *Anebe*, or the country at the mouth of the *Aneb*. For the situation of this place, see *Show*, pag. 95.

⁹ *Show's Travels*; pag. 144 and 145.

One of the chief ports in the Red Sea is *Yamboe*, which signifies the mouth of the sea. It is mentioned by *Ovington*; and is the *Iapigia* of *Ptolemy*. *Leo Afric.* calls it *Yambuth*.

Oujah, the city situated upon the river or mouth of *Oujah*: and *Bouhatter*, where *Utica* was formerly built, seems to be *Bo-sujar*; which *Sujar* is the ancient river, though the name be almost lost.

From hence we may in some degree form a judgment of the analogy that subsisted among some of the primitive languages; and of the true etymology of those places, that I have been speaking of in *Egypt*. *Cellarius* thinks that the canals took their names from the cities that were built upon their banks; and it possibly may have been in some instances true. But, I believe, in general it was otherwise; and I think it may be proved from the natural history of the country. Under *Menes* the whole plain of lower *Egypt* was a morass — ² ἐπὶ τῇ πλῇ τῇ ὀβριζέει νόμῳ, πᾶσι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἶναι ἔδος: and it is still liable to be annually overflowed. To make it habitable, sluices were opened; and canals formed, that the passages of the Nile might be cleared: which canals were denominated from some deity or hero, such as *Ammon*, *Osiris*, *Canouf*; who were supposed to have conducted the affair. Great part of the *Egyptian* mythology is founded upon these operations. When these works were completed, and the land became by degrees fit to receive inhabitants; cities were built upon those canals and rivers, and received their names from them. Thus *Bishehar*, the *Bischoris* or *Bufiris* of the Greeks, was the city at the mouth of the *Sehor* or *Siris*: *Bibeshet*, the city at the canal of ³ *Beshet*: differing little from *Mardike*, *Wansdike*, and the towns of *Sluis* in *Holland*: but still nearer in analogy to *Exmouth*, *Weymouth*, *Yarmouth*, and towns of the like composition in *Britain*. Some of the openings and branches of the Nile were formed by the violence of the inundations:

but

¹ *Shaw's Travels*, pag. 89.
² *Herodot.* Lib. 2. Cap. 4.
³ *Beshab* was a goddess worshipped originally in upper *Egypt*; where there was a city of the same name, called afterwards from *Antinous*, *Antinopolis*: and by *Helladius* the two names are joined in one, and the city called *Besha-Antinous*. See *Photius*.

but there were others, that seem to have been the work of art; and were called by the Egyptians פחאט, *Phacat*, and by the Greeks Συρρυς; the meaning of which is obvious. The *Phacnammonis* is nothing else but the *Phacat No Ammon*, the dike of *No Ammon*: *Phaccusa*, though said to be the capital of a province as well as a village, is originally the dike or canal of *Cusa*. From whence it is plain, that these places were posterior in time to the streams they stood on; and received their names from them.

This canal of *Phaccusa* commenced at a village of the same name, which was situated towards the foot of the *Arabian* mountain; at the part called the hill of the quarries. Here it began; and, after taking a great circumference, it turned towards the east and south-east, and entered the *Red Sea* near *Herodopolis*. It was an amazing work, reaching above an hundred miles; and carried on with immense labour and expence: and is said to have cost the lives of an hundred and twenty thousand persons. The completion of it is attributed to *Sesostris*, *Nechus*, and others: but to whom it may most justly be ascribed, it is not easy to determine. The account given of it by *Herodotus* is very precise and intelligible; he gives the credit of it to *Nechus*. "This prince was the son of *Psammitichus*, and king of *Egypt*; who first formed a canal of communication between the *Nile* and *Red Sea*: which *Darius* the *Persian* in aftertimes opened again. The length of it was four days navigation; and it was of width sufficient for two triremes to pass and turn, without inconvenience. It was supplied with water from the *Nile*: which water was carried on in a direction a little above the city *Bubastus*; running close by *Patumus* a city in *Arabia*, and from thence extending to the *Red Sea*. The first opening of the canal is at the great level or plain of *Egypt*, where it is contiguous to *Arabia*:

above
If *Ptolemy's* account be quite true, there were two places of the same name opposite to each other.

“above which plain, that is to the south of it, is the hill of the
“quarries, which extends upwards towards *Memphis*. At the
“very foot of this mountain is the canal first dug, and passes
“from west to east in a long course: and afterwards turns to
“those hollows and openings in the mountain, which afford
“a passage southward, where it enters the *Arabian gulf*.”

Ἡ Φαμμίτις δὲ Νεχῶς πρὸς ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Αἰγύπτῳ, ὅς τῃ
διωρυχί, ἐπεχειρήσῃ πρῶτος, τῇ ἐς τὴν Εὐθέρην θαλάσσαν Φερσῇ, τὴν
Δαρείος ὁ Περσῆς δευτέρᾳ διωρυξέ· τῆς μήκος ἐστὶ πλὴτος ἡμέραι τεσσαρες-
εὐρος δὲ ὠρυχθῇ, ὥς τριηρεῖς δύο πλεῖν ὅμῃ ἐλατρεομένας. Ἡκταὶ
δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Νείλου τοῦ ὕδατος ἐς αὐτήν. Ἡκταὶ δὲ κατὰ πρὸς ὀλίγον Βεβ-
αίος πολὺς παρὰ Πατμόν τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ πόλιν· ἐστὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Εὐ-
θέρην θαλάσσαν. Ὄρυκται δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὰ πεδία τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τὰ
πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ ἔχοντα· ἔχεται δὲ κατὰ πρὸς τὰ πεδία τοῦ κατὰ Μερμώιν
τεινον ὄρος, ἐν τῷ αἰ ληθοτομῆαι ἐνεῖσι. Τὰ ὧν δὲ ὕψος τετὰρ παρὰ τὴν
ὑπὸ ὠρυξὲν ἡκταὶ ἡ διωρυξὶς ἀπὸ ἐσπέρης μακρὴ πρὸς τὴν ἡν, καὶ ἐπειτα
τείνει ἐς διασφάγας Φερσῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ὕψος πρὸς μεσαμβρίην τε καὶ νοτον
ἀνέμων, ἐς τὸν κόλπον τὸν Αἰγύπτου—τὴν ἐπὶ Νεχῶ βασιλῆος ὀρυσσόντες
Αἰγύπτῳ ἀπώλοντο δώδεκα μυριάδες.

The whole description is particularly clear and exact, as
one would expect from *Herodotus*. *Strabo* is not quite so pre-
cise: and, as *Egypt* abounded with works of this kind, he
has confused and blended different accounts together. As he
is in one part sufficiently explicit, so as not to be misappre-
hended, I shall make use of it to illustrate farther what *He-
rodotus* has before described.

Ἡ δὲ ἀρχὴ τῆς διωρυγῆς τῆς ἐκδι-
δομένης εἰς τὴν Εὐθέρην, ἀπὸ κώμης ἀρχεται Φακκῆς, ἡ συνεχὴς ἐστὶ καὶ
ἡ Φιλωνος κώμη· πλάτος δ' ἔχει πηχῶν ἑκατὸν ἡ διωρυξὶς, βάθος δ' ὅσον
ἀρκεῖ μυριοφορῶν νηι. For Φιλωνος κώμη we should certainly read
Φιλωνος κώμη; and the purport of it will be this: “The
“canal

⁵ Lib. 2. Cap. 158.

⁶ Vol. 2. pag. 1158.

⁷ The situation warrants the alteration; which is confirmed by the evi-
dence of *Herodotus*: besides, such a town as *Philon* was never heard of.

“ canal that reaches from the *Nile* to the *Red Sea* commences
 “ at the village of *Phaccusa*, which has a communication with
 “ *Phithon*. It is an hundred cubits wide, and of a depth
 “ sufficient for a first rate ship.” From these accounts the
 situation of several places may be tolerably defined. It is
 pretty certain that the *Patumus* of *Herodotus* is the *Philon*, or
 rather the *Phithon*, of *Strabo*: both which relate to the *Pithom*
 of the Scriptures. This town was upon the *Arabian* canal,
 in the neighbourhood of *Phaccusa*, and overagainst *Bubastus*.
 All these places were more or less near to the hill of *Arabia*, at
 the foot of which the canal commenced. It is to be observed,
 that the nome of *Phaccusa* is not taken notice of by *Herodotus*;
 and *Strabo* only mentions a village of that name: but *Ptolemy*
 speaks of a city, the capital of a province. It was very an-
 tient; and seems to have been by most *Greek* writers included
 in the nome of *Heliopolis*. This nome is represented by *He-*
rodotus as the uppermost in *Delta*; extending towards the
 mountain of *Arabia*, where the country became most con-
 tracted. At the very point of *Delta* stood the city *Cercasora*,
 so described as not to be mistaken; being nearly overagainst
 the mountain afore mentioned, and being “ the place
 “ where the *Nile* was first divided;”—καθ’ ἣν σχίζεται ὁ Νεῖλος.
Strabo, however, places it in *Lybia*: and, as the *Canobic*
 branch, which separated it, might in *Strabo*’s time be much
 impaired; (in the same manner as it is at this day) he might
 esteem it no longer an island, and place it very truly on the
 continent. But there are other difficulties in his account,
 that cannot be so easily got over. As *Strabo* was upon the
 spot, and very inquisitive, and is very minute and diligent in
 his description; we cannot suppose him to have been grossly
 mistaken: nor could there be originally that obscurity and
 inconsistency, which we now experience in this passage. Af-
 ter having spoken of the canal, together with the towns
 of

of *Phaccusa* and *Phithom*, he says; ² οὗτοι δ' οἱ τοποὶ πλησισσὺσι
 τῇ κορυφῇ τῆς Δελτᾶς· αὐτὰς δὲ καὶ ἡ Βεβαστος πόλις, καὶ ὁ Βεβαστιτῆς
 νόμος· καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ὁ Ἡλιοπολιτῆς νόμος. Ἐνταυθα δ' εἰν ἡ τῆς
 Ἡλίου πόλις. “These places (the towns of *Phaccusa* and *Phi-*
 “*thom*) are situated not far from the vertex of *Delta*: there
 “too (towards that vertex) is the city of *Bubastus* with it's
 “nome, and above them the nome of *Heliopolis*, with the
 “city of the sun.” After this he gives a very ample de-
 scription of the last city, and it's superb temple; and then
 concludes; ἐντευθεν δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος εἰν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Δελτᾶς, “you come
 “now to the river above *Delta*.” Thus far it is plain: but
 afterwards, every circumstance is perplexed and contradictory;
 so that there is no interpreting what he says with any con-
 sistency. ³ Ἐντευθεν δὴ ὁ Νεῖλος εἰν ὁ ὑπὲρ τῆς Δελτᾶς· τὰς δὲ τὰς
 μεν δεξιάς καλεῖσι Λιβύην ἀναπλεοντι· ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἀλεξάν-
 δρειαν, καὶ τὴν Μαρεωτίν· τὰ δ' ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀραβίαν. Ἡ μὲν ἐν Ἡλιο-
 πολιτῇ ἐν τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ εἰν, ἐν δὲ τῇ Λιβύῃ Κερκεσούρα πόλις, κατὰ τὰς
 Εὐδοξοῦ κείμενη σκοπᾶς· δεικνύται γὰρ σκοπῇ τις πρὸ τῆς Ἡλίου πόλεως,
 καθάπερ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κνίδος, καθ' ἣν ἐσημείετο ἐκεῖνος τῶν ὕψους τινὰς
 κινήσεις. Ὁ δὲ νόμος Λιτοπολιτῆς οὗτος. The meaning is this:
 “After *Heliopolis* you come to the *Nile* above *Delta*: and as
 “you pass up the river, the right hand side is called *Libya*;
 “just as all the country is about *Alexandria* and *Mareotis*:
 “but the left hand side is esteemed *Arabia*. The nome of
 “*Heliopolis* is therefore in *Arabia*: and the city *Cercesoura* is
 “in *Libya*, lying near the observatory of *Eudoxus*. For they
 “shew you an observatory just before the city *Heliopolis*, si-
 “tuated like that at *Cnidus*: which observatory *Eudoxus*, when
 “in *Egypt*, made use of to contemplate the celestial mo-
 “tions. This is the nome called *Litopolites*.” Here is a sad
 confused scene. We are informed that above *Delta* on the
 right hand of the *Nile* was *Libya*, on the left hand was
Arabia;

² Vol. 2. pag. 1158.

³ Ibid. pag. 1160.

Arabia; in which last was situated *Heliopolis* and it's nome; as *Cercesoura* on the other side was in *Libya*. The author marks out the situation of *Cercesoura*, by saying it was near the observatory of *Eudoxus*: which observatory stood before *Heliopolis*, the city of the sun, and in the nome of *Litopolis*. Here is a city in *Libya* described by an object in *Arabia*; which could not well determine it, as it lay at a distance, though represented and applied to as near: and this object is said to stand before *Heliopolis*, the capital of a very considerable nome: and yet the author concludes that this is the nome of *Litopolis*: which is absurd and impossible; for no such nome existed. This passage has been corrected by some unskilful hand; and the order of things has been inverted. A change of place in two words, and a very slight alteration in one of them will reduce every thing to it's original state, and clear up all this perplexity. The names *Heliopolites* and *Latopolites*, being pretty much alike, have been transposed; and should be made to change place again. But still there will remain this difficulty, that no such nome as ⁴*Litopolites* was ever heard of. Besides, what is the meaning of ἡ Λιτωπολιτης? it is neither sense nor grammar; no more than ἡ Ἡλιοπολιτης was before. The passage is still depraved: but this feminine article, that is here retained, will lead us to the true reading as it was originally, which was ⁵ἡ Λιτωπολις. The text then will

⁴ There was νομος Λιτωπολιτης towards the lower part of *Delta* to the west, called so from Λητης πολις, the city of *Latona*: but that was quite a different place from this. And there was Λατοπολις high up in *Thebais*, likewise far removed from this city.

⁵ Ἡ μὲν ἐν Ἡλιοπολιτης: it should have been ὁ Ἡλιοπολιτης, if *Heliopolis* had been here meant: but the corrector, who changed the text from *Litopolis*, did not know that the nome was masculine, though the city had been feminine: nor, though it was Λιτωπολις with a single letter, yet it was Ἡλιοπολις with a diphthong: he therefore left these remains of the original reading, which in some measure lead us to the truth and confirm it. Out of ἡ λιτωπολις they formed Ἡλιοπολις and Ἡλιοπολιτης. *Casaubon*, in a short note upon this passage, would have the place called *Latopolis*, according

will stand thus: τα μεν δεξια καλῶσι Λιβυην — τα δ' εν αριστερα Αραβιαν· ἡ μὲν εν Λιτωπολὶς εν τῇ Αραβίᾳ εἰν, εν δε τῇ Λιβυῇ Κερκεσσυρα πολὺς κατὰ τὰς Εὐδοξοῦ κείμενη σκοπῶας· δεικνύται γὰρ σκοπῇ τις πρὸ τῆς Ἡλίου πόλεως, καθάπερ καὶ πρὸ τῆς Κνίδος, καθ' ἣν εσημείετο ἐκεῖνος τῶν βραβίων τινὰς κινήσεις· ὁ δὲ νομὸς Ἡλιοπολίτης οὗτος. “On the right hand of the Nile is *Libya*, as you sail up; on the left *Arabia*. Therefore the city *Litopolis* must be esteemed in *Arabia*; as *Cercesoura*, a place on the other side, is adjudged to *Libya*. *Cercesoura* stands near the observatory of *Eudoxus*: for they shew you in the front of *Heliopolis* an observatory &c, that *Eudoxus* made use of. Here then is the nome of *Heliopolis*:” between which city and *Cercesoura* this edifice stood. By this small change every thing becomes clear and intelligible: so that *Strabo*’s account agrees with that of *Herodotus*, which it illustrates; and he is no longer at variance with himself.

According to *Ptolemy*. But the city, which he speaks of, was not situated here; but, as I have above mentioned, in the *Thebais*. Whatever this city was called, it was a translation of the *Egyptian* name, which was taken from the nature and situation of the place near the quarries. *Latopolis*, if it was so called, was named from the *Latomia*, quasi λατομῶν πολὺς, from *λας*, *lapis*: and *Litopolis*, which is the same as Λιτωπολὶς, is of the like original. It must be owned that *Stephanus Byzant.* calls this city *urbis Latona*: Λητοῦς πολὺς, πολὺς Αἰγυπτῶν· εἰς δὲ μοῖρα Μεμφίδος: but he is certainly mistaken. It was *Litopolis*, that was in this province. *Strabo*’s authority must be valid: he was an eye-witness of what he speaks of; and seems to have been very inquisitive and exact. *Harporation* mentions the same place by the name of *Litepolis*: which is still a mistake for *Litopolis*, but nearer to the reading in *Strabo*.

OF THE
 TEMPLE OF ONIAS,
 CALLED
 HELIOPOLIS.

IT is very manifest from what I have said, that not only the nome of *Phaccusa* and *Bubastus* were within the limits of *Delta*; but that *Heliopolis*, which is so generally referred to *Arabia*, was really a mediterranean city. Hence it is wonderful that so many learned men have determined it another way: who fell into this mistake by not observing, that there were two cities of the same name: the one as *Pliny* terms it, interior; ¹ *intus, et Arabiæ conterminum, claritatis magnæ, Solis oppidum*; the other without, of less note, really situated in *Arabia*, and modern in comparison with the former. It lay to the east of the *Nile*, and to the north of the *Fossa Regia*; at the distance of XII M. P. from *Babylon*, and XXIV from *Memphis*. Hence ² *Harduin* is unjust in his animadversion on *Stephanus Byzantinus*: for there were two cities of this name, though different from what *Stephanus* supposes. It is mentioned by several writers under the name of *Heliopolis*: but its true name was *Onium*; which it received from *Onias* the son of

¹ Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 9.

² Hinc Stephani error duas esse Heliopoles existimantis. Not. in Plin. Lib. 5. Cap. 9.

of *Onias* a Jew, who built it. The general history of this affair is attended with some mistakes. It is ³ said that *Onias*, having fled from his own country, had a great inclination to build a temple in *Egypt* in imitation of that at *Jerusalem*; or rather in opposition to it. In effecting this he found much difficulty: and, before he could gain the assent and assistance of his brethren in that part of the world, he was forced to have recourse to a prophecy, which he pretended was originally uttered in favour of his scheme. ⁴“ In that day shall
“ five cities in the land of *Egypt* speak the language of *Ca-*
“ *naan*, and swear to the Lord of hosts: one shall be called,
“ the city of destruction. In that day shall there be an altar
“ to the Lord in the midst of the land of *Egypt*, and a pillar
“ at the border thereof to the Lord.” The learned ⁵ *Scaliger* has a very ingenious conjecture, that *Onias* was led to the choice of this prefecture of *Heliopolis* for erecting his temple by this prophecy: but at the same time making use of an alteration, that rendered it more in his favour. Instead of ⁶ *Air haberes yeamer leachath*, “ one shall be called the city of
“ destruction;” it is imagined that he read it, *Air bacheres yeamer leachath*, “ one shall be called the city of the sun.” This is a happy conjecture, and seems to be well grounded: but still must be admitted with some limitation. For first, *Onias* could not be led to the choice of that prefecture by this passage: “ the city of the sun” not being the place where he took up his residence; nor was his temple founded in the nome of *Heliopolis*. It was certainly distinct from it; as I have shewn, and will farther prove. The name of *Heliopolis* was

³ See the Connection of the Old and New Testament by Dr. *Prideaux*. Part. II. Book. IV.

⁴ *Isaiab.* 19. v. 18, 19.

⁵ *Animadvers.* ad *Euseb. Chron.* p. 144. sub numero MDCCCLVI.

⁶ *Aquila* and *Theodotion* render this passage *Civitas Ares*. *Symmachus* and *St. Jerome* translate it *the city of the sun*. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* retains both; *civitas solis quæ destruetur*.

was given to it by a mistake resulting from a similitude that subsisted between the true name *Onion*, and the antient *On* or *Heliopolis*. This he availed himself of; and endeavoured to make the passage in *Isaiab* accord with this lucky circumstance, and be prophetic of the establishment of his temple. The name was certainly given to it after it was built; and the prophecy was made use of to support what was done, rather than to promote it. There seems to have been a collusion between *Onias* and those of his party, to impose this name upon the place; in order that it might be intitled to the benefit of the prediction. This is plain from the *Seventy*; where, to give it a proper antiquity, they have supposed it to have been built by their ancestors when in *Egypt*; and that what *Onias* had done, was only a renewal of the antient place and name. For where it is said in the original that the *Israelites* "built for *Pharaoh* treasure-cities, *Pithom* and *Raamses*," the passage has been tampered with, and has been rendered thus; *Και οικοδομησαν πολεις οχυρας τω Φαραω, την τε Πειθαι και Ραμεσση, και Ον, η εστιν Ηλιεπολις*: somebody shrewdly foisting in "*On*, which is the city of the sun," to support the pretensions of *Onias*; and to prove that this was the original name of the place which he had new founded. I make no doubt but this was the reason of the interpolation: and I think it a confirmation of *Scaliger's* conjecture. Yet this passage should prove that it was a different place from the antient *Heliopolis*; or else the translators must be inconsistent with themselves. The city of *Onias*, according to this account, is said to have been built when the *Israelites* had resided some time in *Egypt*: for they are presumed to be the builders. But there was another of the same name, the antient *On*, that is previously mentioned in the same translation; and was prior to their coming into these parts. It is said that *Joseph*, before the coming of his brethren, had married the daugh-

daughter of the priest of On at the recommendation of *Pharaoh*: which On the *Seventy* very properly translate *Heliopolis*.
⁸ Καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ [Φαράω] τὴν Ἀσένεθ θυγατέρα Πετεφρη ἱερέως Ἡλι-
 οπόλεως αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα. There was therefore another city
 called On, or *Heliopolis*; antecedent to the city of *Onias*, al-
 lowing it to be as antient as they pretend, and manifestly a
 different city. But, in truth, the whole of this interpretation,
 that On was *Heliopolis*, is an impudent interpolation, and cal-
 culated for a particular end. Some of the *Hellenistic Jews*
 therefore did not seem willing to have the credit of their
 place and temple rest upon this reading, "one shall be
 " called the city of the sun;" and at the same time the ori-
 ginal reading, *Air habares*, "the city of destruction," would
 overthrow all the good they intended to draw from the appli-
 cation: so that it could not stand with their pretensions.
 There was therefore another expedient thought of; and, in-
 stead of the former reading, they substituted *Air bazedek*,
 that is, "one of them shall be called the city of righteous-
 " ness;" as if they were diffident of the grounds that they
 went on before; and knew that the prophecy, as it was first
 moulded, could not relate to their temple.

I cannot quit this subject, without some strictures on *Jose-
 phus* for the part he takes in the pretensions of *Onias*; and
 the mistakes he is guilty of in the process of this story. He
 informs us, that *Onias* the son of *Onias* petitioned *Ptolemy
 Philometor* for leave to build a temple in honour of God; and
 desired a grant of that ground that lay unoccupied in the
 nome of *Heliopolis*, where had stood an antient *Egyptian*
 temple, that was now in ruins. It seems, "it was the spot
 " where *Isaiab*, who lived six hundred years before, had pro-
 " phecied a temple should be erected by one of his nation."

⁹ Τὸτο δὲ ἐβλήτο, θάρρων μαλιστα τῷ προφῆτῃ Ἠσαΐᾳ, ὅς, ἐτεσιν ἐμ-

πρὸς

⁸ *Genes.* 41. v. 45.

⁹ *Jos.* *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. 13. Cap. 3.

προσθεν ἑξακοσίοις πλέον γεγονώς, προείπεν, ὡς δὲ πάντως ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ οἰκοδομηθῆναι ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ Θεῷ ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς Ἰσδαίου. *Onias* therefore, on the strength of this prophecy, writes a letter to *Ptolemy* and his queen *Cleopatra*: which, as it has never, as I know of, been animadverted upon, I will quote at large; together with the answer that was sent in return. The letter was written from *Alexandria*.

¹ Πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ὑμῖν χρείας τετελεκώς ἐν τοῖς κατὰ πόλεμον ἐργοῖς μετὰ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ βοηθείας, καὶ γενομένος ἐν τῇ Κοίλῃ Συρίας καὶ Φοινίκῃ, καὶ εἰς Λεοντῶν δὲ πόλιν τὴν Ἡλιοπολίτιν συν τοῖς Ἰσδαίοις, καὶ εἰς ἄλλας τόπας ἀφικομένος τε ἐθνῆς, καὶ πλείους ἑρῶν παρὰ τὸ καθήκον ἔχοντας ἱερά, καὶ διὰ τὰτο δυσνὲς ἀλλήλοις, ὃ καὶ Αἰγυπτίοις συμβέβηκε διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἱερῶν, καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς θρησκείας οὐχ ὁμοδοξεῖν· ἐπιτηδειότατον τόπον ἑρῶν ἐν τῷ προσαγορευομένῳ τῆς Ἀγρίας Βαβασέως οχυρωματι, βρύοντα ποικίλης ὕλης καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ζῶων μέσον· δεομαι συγχωρησαί μοι, τὸ ἀδεσποτον ἀνακαθαράν τι ἱερὸν καὶ συμπεπτωκός, οἰκοδομησαί ναὸν τῷ μεγίστῳ Θεῷ, καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τε ἐν Ἱεροσολυμοῖς, τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέτροις, ὑπὲρ τε σε καὶ τῆς γυναίκος καὶ τῶν τέκνων· ἵν' ἔχωσιν οἱ τὴν Αἰγύπτου κατοικῆντες Ἰσδαῖοι, εἰς αὐτὸ συνιόντες κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίαν, ταῖς σαῖς ἐξυπηρετεῖν χρεῖαις. Καὶ γὰρ Ἡσαΐας ὁ προφήτης τὰτο προείπεν· Ἐσθὶ θυσιαστήριον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ, Κυρίῳ τῷ Θεῷ· καὶ πολλὰ δὲ προεφήτευσεν ἄλλα τοιαῦτα διὰ τὸν τόπον.

The epistle is so diffuse and lax, that it is not easy to reduce it to *English*. The tenor of it is nearly this.

“ Having in the war which you have been engaged in performed, by the blessing of God, many and signal services
 “ in your behalf, both in *Cæle Syria* and *Phenicia*; and having observed since my arrival both at *Leontopolis* in the province of *Heliopolis*, and at other places where the *Jews* reside, that most of them have temples contrary to what they
 “ ought to have, and on that account are ill-disposed to one another; (a circumstance I have observed among the *Egyptians*, which takes it's rise from the multitude of their
 tem-

¹ *Jos. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 13. Cap. 3.*

“ temples, and want of uniformity in their worship) and
 “ having lit upon a most convenient spot, within an inclo-
 “ sure formerly dedicated to the goddesses called the *Agria*
 “ *Bubastis*; which place is full of all kinds of materials, and
 “ abounding with sacred animals: I humbly beg of you to
 “ give me leave to clear this temple that has no owner, and is
 “ in ruins; and to build there a temple to the most high God,
 “ upon the same model and the same scale as that at *Jerusa-*
 “ *lem*; for your sake, and the sake of your queen and your
 “ children: that the *Jews* who live in *Egypt* may be able to
 “ meet together in one place with proper uniformity; and be
 “ ready at hand to perform any services you may require. I
 “ must moreover assure you, that the prophet *Ijaiah* foretold
 “ that such a thing should be; *There shall be an altar in Egypt*
 “ *to the Lord God*. He likewise prophesied of many other
 “ circumstances relating to this place.”

From this letter we may see the scope and intention of *Josephus* in his history; and with what caution and allowance he is to be read. His design was to aggrandize his own nation, by giving an account of their divine establishment originally; and by displaying a series of great events, that from the earliest times had happened in their favour. In doing which he had *Moses* and the prophets before him. But, as he was to adapt his history to the turn and disposition of those he wrote to; he often deviates from his guides; and is apt to add, as well as to diminish; according as he thinks it may best suit the taste of those to whom his writings are addressed: being not sufficiently attentive to the strict truth, if he can but dress up his history to advantage. In respect to this letter; some people would except to the propriety of an address in this manner upon a subject of so great importance: especially as *Onias* was at *Alexandria*, the residence of the court; and might have made his petition in person. It may likewise be thought particular to include the wife in an

addresses to a king. It seems likewise improbable that a ruined temple should be full of so many things necessary for his purpose; βρυνοντα ποικιλης υλης, και των ιερων ζων μεσον; that is, "variety of materials, and beasts for the service of the altar:" especially, when we come to know that, if such a temple did exist, it was upon the verge of a desert. It is hard to account for the many temples that the *Jews* are said to have had in *Egypt*; unless he means *synagogues* and προσευχαι: but those were not unlawful. Nor does it seem politick in *Onias*, when he had a point to carry, to speak against the national worship of the *Egyptians*, and the diversity of their rites and customs: it is not probable he would make his court by such means. Besides, the *Greeks* adopted the gods of the countries they came to: nor could any thing be urged against the variety of rites in *Egypt*, but what would affect equally those of *Greece*. But, setting aside appearances, let us examine closer; that we may get better hold. The purport of the letter is to obtain leave to found a temple, that a prophet of *Israel* had foretold. It was requested to be built at *Leontopolis* in the province of *Heliopolis*; where the goddess *Bubastis*, the Αρτεμις αγρια of the *Greeks*, had been formerly worshipped. Here is such a complication of mistakes as one seldom meets with. If we may credit *Strabo*, *Leontopolis* was a capital city of a nome of the same name, that lay far to the west, and had it's peculiar deity. ²*Ælian* says that they worshipped lions there: and *Porphyry* mentions the same thing. *Bubastis*, the *Diana Agrestis*, was worshipped at ³*Bubastus*, the capital of a different nome; and *Heliopolis* was distinct from both: and, what is extraordinary, the place petitioned for was diverse from all three; being
nei-

² Lib. 12. Cap. 7. — Και ο λεων ως θεος θρησκευεται και μέρος τι της Αιγυπτu, ο καλυσι νομου, επωνυμου εχει Λεοντοπολιτην. *Porph. de Abstinentiâ*. Lib. 4. λεοντα δε [τιμωσι] Λεοντοπολιται. *Strab.* Vol. 2. pag. 1167.

³ Εν τη και ιρου εστι Βαβασιος — η δε Βαβασις, κατ' Ελλαδα γλωσσαν, εστι Αρτεμις. *Herod.* Lib. 2. Cap. 137.

neither at *Leontopolis*, nor *Bubastus*, nor in *Heliopolis*, but in *Arabia*. And, as to what *Josephus* mentions, that a temple was foretold to be built, ναός τῷ μεγίστῳ Θεῷ; *Isaiab* says not a syllable that such a temple should be built; much less that a *Jew* should be the builder.

The answer that was returned by *Ptolemy* and *Cleopatra* was gracious beyond measure. They accede to his request; but not without some scruples whether it can be acceptable to God to have an *Heathen* temple converted to his use. They therefore beg of *Onias* to look to that: for they would not take it upon themselves. They seem to pay a great deference to the authority of the *Jewish* prophet; with whom, however, they could have been but little acquainted; and betray a care and caution about offending God, that one could scarce have expected from the worshippers of *Jupiter*. A *Jewish* high priest, if he had been applied to, could not have shewn a more conscientious regard. *Onias*, who was to erect the temple, had not half the reverence and forecast.

4 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ καὶ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑ ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ

ΟΝΙΑ, ΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ.

Ανεγνωμεν σε την παρακλησιν, αξιεντος επιτραπηναι σοι το εν Λεοντοπολει τῷ Ἡλιοπολιτῷ ἱερὸν συμπεπτωκος ανακαθαραι, προσαγορευομενον δε της Αγριας Βεβασεως. Διο και θαυμαζομεν, ει εστι τῷ Θεῷ κεχαρισμενον το καθιδρυσομενον ἱερὸν εν ασελγει τοπῷ και πληρει ζων ἱερων. Επει δε συ φης Ησαϊαν τον προφητην εκ πολλῶν χρονῶν τῆτο προειρηκεναι, συγχωραμεν σοι, ει μελλει τῆτο εσεσθαι κατα τον νομον, ὥς εμηθεν ἡμας δοκειν εις τον Θεον εξημαρτηκεναι.

“ King PTOLEMY and Queen CLEOPATRA

“ To *Onias*, Health.

“ We have read your petition; wherein you request that
“ we would permit you to cleanse and purify the ruinous
tem-

4 *Jos. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 13. Cap. 3.*

R 2

“ temple at *Leontopolis* in the prefecture of *Heliopolis*, which
 “ is called the temple of ⁵*Bubastis* the Huntress. In respect
 “ to which, we cannot help being under some doubt, whether
 “ a temple built in an impure place, and which is full of
 “ ⁶ consecrated animals, can be acceptable to God. ⁷ But
 “ since you assure us that *Isaiab* the prophet did a great
 “ while ago foretel, that such a temple should be, we accede
 “ to your request; with this proviso, that it be done con-
 “ formable to the law: so that we may not be found blameable
 “ before God.”

Such is the evidence of *Josephus*; and such his opinion about the prophecy, that *Onias* made use of towards the foundation and establishment of his temple. To which opinion the very learned and pious bishop of *Auranches* accedes; and thinks that this prophecy could refer to nothing else, and was herein most assuredly accomplished. ⁸*Scio aliter nonnullos sensisse, et hæc ad Sennacheribi et Psammitichi tempora retulisse. Sed et res ipsa, templum nempe Dei in mediâ Ægypto; et locus ipse, civitas Solis; et rei auctor tam perspicuè designantur, ut aliò torqueri posse prophetiam haudquaquam videatur. Cum præsertim accedat Josephi auctoritas, quem duobus locis affirmatu-*
rum

⁵ The goddess *Bubastis* was an *Egyptian* deity, and never distinguished by a *Greek* title. The *Greeks* imagined they saw a resemblance between her and their manifold goddess *Diana*, especially in one character. They therefore called her *Ἀρτεμις Ἀγυρᾶ* in their own language, *Bubastis* in the *Egyptian*.

⁶ It is difficult to say what animals were not held sacred by the *Egyptians*: those that were particularly esteemed so, and most highly revered, were dogs, cats, moles, hawks, owls and baboons.

⁷ “ But since you assure us that *Isaiab* did a long time ago —” People that invent will sometimes trip. *Onias* in his letter had not said a syllable about how long it was ago. *Josephus* had just before mentioned it’s being above six hundred years. This part of the letter is not an answer to *Onias*; but to *Josephus* the historian, who had forgot himself.

⁸ *Huetii Demonstratio Evangelica*; *propof.* 6. The bishop thinks the prophecy figuratively, *κατὰ σχῆμα*, alludes to the calling of the *Gentiles*; but verbally, *κατὰ λέξιν*, to the temple of *Onias*.

rum id non fuisse puto, nisi communi inter Judæos opinione receptum scisset. But, with just deference to this excellent man, I take the prophecy to relate intirely to a circumstance of more consequence than *Onias*, and his temple. *Isaiab*, as I before observed, makes no mention of a temple: an altar is figuratively spoken of, that was to be in the midst of *Egypt*: which can have no reference to the temple of *Onias*, that was not in the midst of *Egypt*, nor properly in *Egypt*, but in *Arabia*. It is likewise contrary to the nature and tenor of the divine oracles; which are never so revealed and worded, and placed in such a light, as that a man shall cooperate as he lists, and verify them at his pleasure: much less that he should, like *Onias*, make it his request to an *Heathen* prince that he would give him leave to fulfil them. They are never made dependant on the will of man: but their illustration and completion is often effected by persons ignorant of the part imposed upon them, and enemies to the cause that they establish. Such have been the means in general, by which heaven has been pleased to fulfil it's high and dark decrees: to which great purpose the very enemy of truth and his emissaries are often made subservient. As to the authority of *Josephus*, which the learned bishop lays a stress upon; it is not in this affair of the least estimation. To shew the influence that *Onias* gained at the court of *Alexandria*, he represents *Ptolemy* almost as an idiot; by making him assent upon such slender motives: *επει δε συ φης Ησαϊαν τον προφητην κ. τ. λ.* "I am not acquainted with *Isaiab*," says the king; "but since you assure me he did say so, I shall pay that deference to his words, as to comply with what you desire;" depending upon your veracity. Of the same nature is his concern about offending God, by suffering a temple to be built to him in a polluted place. How is it possible that *Ptolemy*, who worshipped *Apollo* and *Diana*, should think that the temple of either of them, though in ruins, was impure? and that he should
shew

shew greater deference for the *Jehovah* of *Israel*, than for Θεός πατρώος, the god of his country? It would have been happy for *Ptolemy*, if these had been his sentiments. There is something contradictory in the original request of *Onias*. He complains to *Ptolemy* of the many ἱερά, temples, that the *Jews* had in *Egypt*; and the ill consequences that ensued upon it: yet makes this his reason for building a temple, ⁹ such an one as was at *Jerusalem*. This plea must be absolutely incomprehensible to any person that had it addressed to them. How is it possible to conceive that adding to the mischief would remedy the evil? It, surely, required some explanation: as it stands now, it is a paradox.

Besides all this, *Josephus* does not seem to be consistent with himself; and, if we look farther into his account, we may from his own words find matter sufficient to overturn all his evidence. Let us attend to the history of this affair, as he describes it in another place.¹ When *Antiochus Epiphanes* was king of *Syria*, he raised *Alcimus* to the office of high priest; though he was not of the race of the priesthood, nor had any title to the preferment. *Onias*, who claimed

⁹ To build such an one as was at *Jerusalem* was a bold undertaking.

¹ Ονίας Σιμωνος υἱος, εἰς τῶν ἐν Ἱεροσολυμοῖς ἀρχιερέων, φεύγων Ἀντιόχου τῆς Συρίας βασιλεῖα πολέμῳ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις, ἦκεν εἰς Ἀλεξανδρείαν· καὶ δεξάμενος Πτολεμαῖς φιλοφρονῶς αὐτὸν, διὰ τὴν πρὸς Ἀντιόχου ἀπεχθεῖαν, ἐφῆ συμμαχῶν αὐτῷ ποιήσειν τὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος, εἰ πείσθῃ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτῆς λεγόμενοις. Ποίησεν δὲ τὰ δυνάτα τῆ βασιλεῖας ὁμολογήσαντος, ἤξιωσεν ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ, νέων τε ΠΟΥ τῆς Αἰγύπτου κατασκευασθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς πατρίοις ἐθεσὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν Θεόν. Οὕτω γὰρ Ἀντιόχῳ μὲν ἐτι μάλλον ἐκπολεμώσεσθαι τῆς Ἰουδαίας, τὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολυμοῖς νέων πεπορθηκότι· πρὸς αὐτοῦ δ' εὐνοϊκωτέρως ἤξειν, καὶ πολλὰς ἐπ' ἀδείας εὐσεβείας ὥς αὐτοῦ συλλεγήσεσθαι. De Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 10. Οὗ τῆ ἀρχιερέως Σιμωνος τῆ δικαίᾳ υἱος Ονίας—λαμβάνει τόπον ἐν τῷ Ἡλιόπολιτι νόμῳ, κ. τ. λ. Zonaras. Vol. 1. pag. 207. Edit. Paris. 1686. In *Heliopolitano pago*. Euseb. Chron. Lib. 2. This is all a mistake: and Σιμωνος υἱος both in *Josephus* and *Zonaras* is erroneously put for Ονίας υἱος. The former in *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. 13. Cap. 3. styles him Ονίας τῆ ἀρχιερέως υἱος, ὁμωνυμῶς δὲ ὡν τῷ πατρί. These different accounts misled the learned *Selden* to imagine that *Josephus* spoke of two temples: but it is certain he alludes always to one. *Selden de Succes. Pontificum Hebræor.* Lib. 1. Cap. 8.

ed by right of inheritance, was so irritated at this ill usage, that he fled to *Egypt*: resolving to throw himself at the feet of *Ptolemy Philometor*; between whom and *Antiochus* there subsisted grievous animosities. The king permitted him to come to him, and received him graciously. He told the prince of the great injustice done to him: and begged, as he had been deprived of the priesthood in *Judea*, that he might be permitted to maintain that character in *Egypt*: and that the king would give him leave to build ΠΟΥ, *somewhere or other*, a temple for that purpose. He seconded his plea with a political reason: and assured *Ptolemy*, that nothing would influence the *Jews* more in his favour, and wean them more from his enemy and rival, than being permitted to enjoy such a temple. It would necessarily draw many of them into *Egypt*; and *Ptolemy* in both places would be sure of their good will and assistance. This was speaking to the purpose. He founded his request on reasons of state; which had more weight with *Ptolemy* than the testimony of *Isaiab* could have had, or of all the prophets put together. These two accounts are different, and, I think, not consistent: and from hence we may infer, that the letters quoted by *Josephus* are not authentick. For if *Onias* gained access to *Ptolemy*, so as to lay before him his plea; and (shewing the advantages that would necessarily accrue to the king and his people from the proposal) got his request ratified: this circumstance precludes all epistolary correspondence; and renders the letters, before sufficiently suspected, to be unnecessary and vain. Not a word of what is principally urged in the letters by way of plea is mentioned here; and what is pleaded in this place is omitted in the letters. Yet both means are said to have had the desired effect: which is incredible. For one of the addressees must have been unnecessary, and the account not true: which that was, I leave the reader to judge.

I took notice above of the just censure that *Josephus* had passed on the *Greek* writers, for not being sufficiently attentive to the truth; but endeavouring to make their histories rather agreeable than authentick. I am sorry to say of *Josephus*, that, as he manifestly imitates the *Greeks* in other respects, so he too frequently copies them in this: and is liable to have what he imputes to them retorted upon himself. He is too apt to accommodate his history to the disposition of the very people he blames: and sometimes does not scruple to sacrifice his veracity to the taste of the times that he lived in. This justice must, however, be done him; that in the main he is a very useful historian: and, in respect to the age he lived in, and the circumstances that came under his own cognizance, he seems to have used great diligence and impartiality; and his accounts are very interesting and true. Hence *Bochart's* character of him may be fairly admitted: who, after having mentioned some mistakes that he had found in him, concludes, however, with a compliment to his merit. ²*Tot Josephi σφαλματα tam paucis verbis docent illi scriptori fidem non esse temere adhibendam, cum versatur in exoticis. Alioqui enim fatendum est nos illi plurimum eo nomine debere, quòd suæ gentis historiam summâ fide et sedulitate scripserit.*

It is manifest from what has preceded, that the place allotted to *Onias* was not at *Heliopolis*, as has been pretended. It is called by *Josephus* and others χωρα Ονια; and it's true situation is described in that passage where *Mithridates* marches from *Pelusium* to *Memphis*. ³ Before he could get to the

² Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 26.

³ *Jos. Antiq. Jud. Lib. 14. Cap. 8.* We find that the *Jews* at *Heliopolis* (the same as *Onium*) were so very numerous, that they withstood *Mithridates Pergamenus* at the head of his army, and disputed with him the passage into *Egypt*: διεκωλυον οἱ Ἰσραηλιται Αἰγυπτίους, οἱ τὴν Ονιαν λεγομένην χωρὰν κατοικοῦντες. Such was the state of the place, which was inhabited by the *Jews*. Let us turn to the other city of the same name. *Strabo* paid a visit to it, and speaks of it's former splendour: but says that, when

the last place, the *Jews* of *Onium*, οἱ τὴν Ονίαν λεγομένην χώραν κατοικούντες, stopt him in his march. His rout was not through the land of *Egypt*; but, as we are told afterwards, τὸ Δέλτα περιελθὼν: so that *Onium* was exterior in respect to *Egypt*: which situation is agreeable to that which is allotted it both in the *Itinerary*, and by *Ptolemy*. I have shewn that the true name of it was *Onium*; which was so similar to the antient *On* or *Helio-
polis*, that it began to obtain that name. This was caught at, and propagated industriously. Many of the *Jews* were very averse to the erecting this temple; and held it as much in abhorrence as that on mount *Gerizim*. For the sake of such the prophecy was appealed to; and, with a very slight alteration, made to speak a language to the purpose. And, to give the place a proper antiquity, they pretended it was called *Heliopolis* of old; inserting in the translation of the 4 *Seventy*,
among

when he saw it, it was quite ruinous and desolate: νυνὶ μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶ πανεργή-
μος ἡ πόλις. Vol. 2. pag. 1158. He could not have said this, if it had been the place where the *Jews* lived, and were so numerous. He more-
over mentions the antient temple at *Heliopolis*, and the apartments of the priests, and particularly those where *Plato* and *Eudoxus* studied; but speaks of the whole as little frequented. Some few priests remained; but of a lower denomination, who still sacrificed there, and performed the more servile offices: but the antient priesthood and college were no more. Could this possibly be the place where the *Jews* founded their temple? where the law of *Moses* was observed, and the *Jewish* rites celebrated? It is plain that there were two places of the same name; and that *Onium* was not the antient *Heliopolis*.

4 The translation of the *Seventy* is certainly of great service, and should be allowed it's weight. But, as it ought not to be undervalued; so neither should it be over-rated, nor brought into competition with the original. In the preface to the *Vatican* copy, published at *Rome*, the editors speak of the first translators as inspired persons. *Constat enim eos Interpretes, natione quidem Judæos, doctos verò Græcè—Spiritu Sancto plenos, sacra Biblia interpretatos esse.* And again; *Septuaginta Interpretum editio—instituto quodam divinitatis elaborata.—Septuaginta Interpretes Spiritus Sancti auctoritatem secuti ediderunt.* After all, there are many gross mistakes in it: and it not only varies sometimes from the *Hebrew*, but from itself; the interpretation being neither uniform nor true. This
S trans-

among the cities built by the *Israelites* for *Pharaoh*, "On, which is *Heliopolis*." Which name however it never received, till after it was built; and then, through a mistake that they took advantage of. So that this prophecy was never thought of previous to it's being founded; nor introduced to encourage the work: but was made use of by *Onias* and his friends to establish the temple when finished, and to sanctify their proceeding.

That it was generally called *Onium*, may be likewise gathered from the strange mistake that took it's rise from this name. For the *Greeks* in *Egypt*, hearing that the chief temple of the *Jews* was called *Ονιον*, *Onium*; and, as I have often observed, catching at every similitude of sound; imagined that this name was derived from the *Greek* word *ονος*; which in their language is well known to signify a particular animal. They therefore concluded that they had found out the secret object of the *Jewish* worship; and that all their devotion was paid to an *ass*. This notion was soon propagated: and it was asserted, that in the vestibule of every *Jewish* temple there was an *ass's* head. Hence those satyrical verses;

⁶ *jura, verpe, per Anchialum; i. e. asinum.*

and in another place,

⁷ *Judæus licet et porcinum numen adoret,*

Et Cilli summas devocet auriculas; sc. asini.

Nor did this ridicule stop here: it reached even the *Christians*; between whom and the *Jews* there was a wide disparity: but the *Greeks* did not trouble themselves to find out the difference. Hence arose that idle and blasphemous notion about the

translation is supposed to have been made in the reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*: but it certainly was not all done at one time, nor by the same hand. See *Prideaux's Connection*. Part. II. Book. I.

⁵ *Tanaq. Fabr. Epist. Criticæ.* *Spanheim* is of a contrary opinion; and *Haseus* in his treatise *de Onolatreiâ*, which I have not seen.

⁶ *Mart. Lib. 11. Epigr. 95.*

⁷ *Petron. Fragmenta.*

the God of the *Christians*, *Deus Christianorum Onochoirites*; and the title that was given them of *Afinarii*. They likewise had the credit, as well as the *Jews*, of having an afs's head in their churches for an object of their worship. All which took it's rise from the name of this temple, and the mistakes in consequence of it.

As this temple was built in imitation of that at *Jerusalem*, so it survived it not long: and there seems to have been something extraordinary in it's catastrophe. Our blessed Saviour and the prophets had foretold the ruin of the *Jewish* nation, and the destruction of their temple at *Jerusalem*: which temple *Vespasian* had been very desirous of saving, but could not prevent it's being destroyed. For it was the determined will of God, which he had declared by the prophets, that the daily sacrifice should cease, and the *Jewish* polity be no more. If the temple of *Onias* had remained, this decree might in some measure have appeared to have been evaded; and the prophecies would have been rendered less complete. It was situated so remotely; and was so obscure, that one would have imagined it could not have alarmed the jealousy of the *Romans*, nor have deserved their notice. *Vespasian*, however, was moved to destroy it; and, hearing of some disturbances among the *Jews*, gave orders for it's ⁸ demolition: acting herein as an instrument of God's vengeance, to the consummation of these prophecies upon the *Jewish* nation; which were thus far fully completed.

⁸ Δείσας [Καίσαρ] μη παλιν εἰς ἐν αἰθροὶ συλλεγῶσι—προσέταξε τῷ Λατῷ τοῦ ἐν τῇ Οὐίᾳ καλεσμένη νεῶν καθελεῖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων. *Jos. Bell. Jud. Lib. 7. Cap. 10.* Some defer the destruction of it to the reign of *Trajan*. The temple upon mount *Gerizim* had been destroyed long before; probably when *Hyrchanus* took *Samaria*. See *Jos. Bell. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.*

OF THE

SHEPHERDS IN EGYPT,

AND THE

LAND OF GOSHEN.

MY endeavour has been, throughout this argument, to shew that there were no provinces of lower *Egypt* to the east of the *Nile*; which I have been obliged to prove by all possible means. As many of the antients speak of provinces in those parts; and all the moderns place the *Arabian* nomes there; without knowing that there were two cities of the same name; they have caused great confusion in the geography of *Egypt*. *Ptolemy* seems to speak only of one *Arabian* nome, *Phaccusa*: but, as others add to it both *Heliopolis* and *Bubastus*; and they are all three referred alike to that part of the world; I shall join them together. It is to be observed, that these are the only provinces that have been stiled *Arabian*. It may therefore be asked, how they came to have this particular mark of distinction; to which at first sight they seem to have little pretension? There were many prefectures downward upon the *Pelusiæ* branch of the *Nile*, that were rather more advanced towards *Arabia*: and there were others above, that were really situated in that country, and yet not termed *Arabian*. Whence then came the provinces we are speaking of, above all others, to be thus denominated, and to be

con-

continually referred to *Arabia*? What could be the cause of this remarkable distinction? My answer is, that they were called so from the *Arabian* shepherds, who had formerly settled in these parts; and held them for many years. This leads me to a very intricate piece of history, which has employed the wit of some of the most learned men; and has never been happily discussed. And I shall think myself particularly fortunate, if I can clear it up to the satisfaction of the reader.

The *Arabian* nomes are nothing more than the land of *Goshen*, called by the *Seventy* Γεσσεμ της Αραβιας. We are told by *Syncellus*¹ that *Egypt* had been in subjection to a threefold race of kings; who are termed the *Auritæ*, the *Mestræi*, and the *Egyptian*. *Syncellus* places the *Auritæ* first of the three, because he thought they were first in time. The *Mestræi* were undoubtedly the genuine descendants of *Mizraim*, who first gave name to the country: the traces of which are not yet² effaced; *Al Cabira*, and, indeed, the whole of *Egypt* being called *Mezré* at this day. The *Auritæ* were the *Arabian* shepherds, and their kings; who reigned here a considerable time, maintaining themselves by force; till, after many struggles, they were finally expelled by the natives. The original account of these people we have from *Manetho*; whose words I shall quote at large.

3 ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ἡμιν, Τιμαος ονομα' επι τεττα, εκ οιδ' ὅπως, ὁ Θεος αντεπνευσεν, και παραδοξως εκ των προς ανατολην μερων, ανθρωποι το γενοσ ασημοι, καταθαρσησαντες επι την χωραν εσρατευσαν, και ῥαδιως αμαχητι ταυτην κατα κρατος ἔϊλον. Και τες ἡγεμονευσαντας εν αυτη χειρωσαμενοι, το λοιπον τας τε πολεις ωμως ενεπρησαν, και τα ἱερα των Θεων κατεσκαψαν. Πασι δε τοις επιχωριοις εχθροτατα πως εχρησαντο, τες μεν σφαζοντες, των δε και τα τεκνα και γυναικας εις δελειαν

¹ Chronograph. Edit. Parisin. 1652. pag. 51.

² See the authors cited at pag. 103. note 7.

³ *Joseph. Contra Apion, Lib. 1. §. 14. Edit. Havercamp.*

δελειαν αγοντες. Περσας δε και βασιλεα ένα εξ αυτων εποιησαν, ὃ ονομα-
 ην Σαλατις. Καὶ οὗτος εν τη Μεμφιδι κατεγινετος, την τε ανω και κατω
 χωραν δασμολογων, και Φρεξαν εν τοις επιτηδείοτατοις καταλειπων το-
 ποις· μαλιστα δε και τα προς ανατολην ησφαλισατο μερη, προορωμενος
 Ασσυριων, τοτε μειζον ισχυοντων, εσομενην επιθυμιαν της αυτης βασι-
 λειας εφοδε. Έυρων δε εν νομῳ τῷ Σαϊτῇ πολιν επικαιροτατην, κειμε-
 νην μεν προς ανατολην τε Βεβασιτε ποταμῳ, καλεμενην δ' απο τινος
 αρχαιας Θεολογιας Αυαριν· ταυτην εκτισεν τε, και τοις τειχεσιν οχυρω-
 τατην εποιησεν, ενοικισας αυτη και πληθος ὀπλιτων εις εικοσι και τεσ-
 σαραις μυριαδας ανδρων προς φυλακην. Ενθαδε κατα Φερειαν ηρχετο,
 τα μεν σιτομετρων και μισθοφοριαν παρεχομενος, τα δε και ταις εξοπλι-
 σiais προς φοβον των εξωθεν επιμελως γυμναζων. Αρξας δ' εννεακαιδεκα
 ετη τον βιον ετελευτησεν. Μετα τῆτον δε ἑτερος εβασιλευσεν τεσσαρα
 και τετῆρακοντα ετη, καλεμενος Βηων. Μεθ' ὃν αλλος Απαχνας, εξ
 και τριακοντα ετη και μηναις ἑπτα. Επειτα δε και Απωφισ εν και ἑξη-
 κοντα, και Ιανιας πεντηκοντα και μηναις ένα. Επι πασι δε και Ασις
 εννεα και τεσσαρακοντα και μηναις δυο. Και ἔτοι μεν εξ εν αυτοις εγενη-
 θησαν πρωτοι αρχοντες, πολεμυντες αι και ποθεντες μαλλον της Αι-
 γυπτῃ εξαραι την ρίζαν. Εκαλειτο δε το συμπαν αυτων εθνος 'ΥΚΣΩΣ,
 τῆτο δε εσι βασιλεις ποιμενες· το γαρ 'ΥΚ καθ' ιεραν γλωσσαν βασιλεα
 σημαινει· το δε ΣΩΣ ποιμην εσι και ποιμενες κατα την κοινην διαλε-
 κτον, και ἔτω συντιθεμενον γινεται 'ΥΚΣΩΣ. Τινες δε λεγουσιν αυτους
 Αραβας ειναι.

“ We had formerly a king named *Tirmaus*: in whose
 “ reign, I know not why, but it pleased God to visit us with
 “ a blast of his displeasure: when, on a sudden, there came
 “ upon this country a large body of obscure people from the
 “ east; and with great boldness invaded the land, and took it
 “ without opposition. The chief of our people they reduced
 “ to their obedience; and then in a most cruel manner set fire
 “ to their towns, and overturned their temples. Their beha-
 “ viour to the natives was very barbarous: for they slaugh-
 “ tered

⁴ 2 Kings. 19. v. 7. “ Thus saith the Lord—Behold, I will send a blast
 “ upon him [*Sennacherib*].”

"tered the men, and made slaves of their wives and children.
 "At length they constituted one of their body to be their
 "king, whose name was *Salatis*. He resided at *Memphis*;
 "holding all the upper and the lower *Egypt* tributary, and
 "having his garrisons in every place of consequence. He
 "took particular care to secure every part to the east: as the
 "*Affyrians* were then very powerful; and he foresaw that
 "they would one time or other make an attempt upon his
 "kingdom. And having observed a city, that lay particu-
 "larly commodious in the nome of *Sais*; being situated to
 "the east of the *Bubastite* river; whose name was ⁵*Avaris* (a
 "name that had some relation to the antient theology of the
 "nation): this city he built, and strengthened with very
 "strong walls; placing in it a garrison of two hundred and
 "forty thousand men. Hither in summer he resorted; to
 "receive the corn which he exacted, and to pay his army:
 "and at the same time to make a shew of exercising and di-
 "sciplining his troops, by way of terror to other nations.
 "This king, after having reigned nineteen years, died: *Beon*
 "succeeded him, who reigned forty four years: then *Apa-*
 "*chnas*, thirty six years and seven months: after him *Apophis*,
 "sixty one years: then *Ianias* fifty years and one month:
 "and, last of all, *Affis* forty nine years and two months.
 "These six were the first of their kings: who were always in
 "a state of hostility with the natives; and were endeavour-
 "ing, if possible, to root out the very name of an *Egyptian*.
 "The whole body of this people were called *Huksos*, that is,
 "*Royal Shepherds*. For the first syllable, in the sacred dialect,
 "fig-

⁵ *Αἰαρίω*, vel (quod idem est) *Αἰαρίω* in libris omnibus. *Havercamp's*
 note at pag. 445. *Avaris* and *Abaris* are to be sure convertible, and
 likely to be put one for the other, according to the *Grecian* manner of
 writing. But, in this passage, they must be carefully distinguished;
 being different places, and not of the same etymology: as I shall here-
 after shew. *Avaris* was in *Delta*, and was a city and province: *Abaris*
 stood without in *Arabia*, and seems to have been only a large town.
 See Additional Remarks.

“ signifies a king; as the latter, in the popular language,
 “ signifies a shepherd. These two compounded together
 “ constitute the word *Huksos*. These people are said to have
 “ been *Arabians*.”

Josephus, having given us this extract from *Manetho*, dissents from him in the signification of the above name of the *Shepherd Kings*; and deduces it from an etymology more agreeable to his own ⁶opinion. He then proceeds to inform us farther from *Manetho*, that the *Shepherds* maintained themselves in *Egypt* five hundred and eleven years. At last the people of upper *Egypt* rose in opposition to them; and under *Halisphragmuthosis* defeated them; beleaguered them in their strong hold ⁷*Avaris*, and after some time expelled them the country: which was effected under the influence of *Thummosis*, or *Tethmosis*, as he is called in another place, the son of the former king: that, upon their departure, they were afraid of going towards *Affyria*; and therefore betook themselves to the country called afterwards *Judea*, and built *Jerusalem*.

After this, there occurs at some interval a piece of history relating to another set of people, who were sojourners in *Egypt* in the reign of *Amenophis*. These were in absolute subjection to the prince of the country, and treated by him as slaves; because they were infected with the leprosy. As they increased in numbers to a great amount, he employed them in the stone quarries that were on the east side of the *Nile*, in company with some of the *Egyptians*. It is said of this prince, that he longed much to be admitted to the presence of the gods, as *Orus*, a former king, had been. But it was told him that his wish would never be accomplished, till he
 purged

⁶ He supposes it to signify a captive: which, however, is less applicable to the *Israelites* than the other title, in the room of which it is substituted.

⁷ Κατακλεισθῆναι δ' εἰς τοπον αβρων εχοντα μυριων την περιμετρον. Αβαριν ονομα τῷ τοπῳ. κ. τ. λ. *Jos. contra Apion. Lib. 1. §. 14.*

purged his land of the distempered people. He sent them therefore to the *Arabian* quarries: and, as they laboured under great inconveniencies in that place, upon a remonstrance made to him, he granted them for a retreat the city ⁸ *Abaris*, where the former *Shepherds* had resided, that now lay desolate.

9 Ἦσθεντα δὲ τὸν βασιλεα, πάντας τὰς τὰ σώματα λελωθήμενους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτῆ συναγαγεῖν· γενεσθαι δὲ τὴν πλῆθος μυριάδας οκτώ· καὶ τέτρες εἰς τὰς λιθοτομίας τὰς ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἀνατολὴν μερὶ τῆ Νείλου ἐμβαλεῖν αὐτόν.—Τῶν δὲ ταῖς λατομίαις ὥς χρόνος ἱκανὸς διήλθεν ταλαιπωρουμένων, ἀξιώθεις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἵνα πρὸς καταλυσιν αὐτοῖς καὶ σκεπὴν ἀπομερίσῃ, τὴν τότε τῶν ποιμένων ἐρημωθείσαν πόλιν, Αὐαριν συνεχώρησεν. Ἐστὶ δ' ἡ πόλις, κατὰ τὴν θεολογίαν ἀνωθεν, Τυφώνιος.

The whole quotation from *Manetho* is too long to be given at large: and it besides contains many confused circumstances, that are not necessary to be related here. Let it suffice, that this people “chose themselves a leader; one who was a priest
“ of *Heliopolis*, and whose name was *Osarsiph*. He enjoined
“ them to pay no regard to the gods of the country, nor to the
“ animals which were held sacred by the *Egyptians*; but to sa-
“ crifice and feed indifferently: and not to have any conne-
“ ctions out of their own community.—In short, this priest of
“ *Heliopolis* was the founder of their republic, and their law-
“ giver: and after he had lifted himself with this body of men,
“ he changed his name to *Moses*.” 1 Ὅι δὲ εἰς ταύτην [Αὐαριν] εἰσελ-
θόντες, καὶ τὸν τόπον τέτον εἰς ἀποστάσιν ἔχοντες, ἡγεμόνα αὐτῶν λεγο-
μενον τινὰ τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν ἱερέων Ὀσαρσιφὸν ἐσησάντο· καὶ τέτω πει-
θαρχήσαντες ἐν πάσιν ὠρκομοτήσαν. Ὁ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς νομὸν ἐθετο,
μητε προσκυνεῖν θεοὺς, μητε τῶν μαλίστα ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ θεμιστευομένων ἱερῶν
ζῶων ἀπεχεσθαι μηδενός, πάντα τε θύειν καὶ ἀναλύν· συναπτεσθαι δὲ
μηδενί

⁸ It was the city *Abaris* which was given to them at this season, and for this purpose. Some MSS read *Αὐαριν*; but the better have *Αβάριν*.

⁹ *Josephus* contra Apion. Lib. i. §. 26.

¹ *Josephus*. Ibid.

μηδενι πλην των συνωμοσμενων.—Λεγεται δ' οτι την πολιτειαν και τας νομους αυτοις καταβαλομενος ιερευσ, το γενοσ Ἡλιοπολιτης, ονομα Οσαρσιφ, απο τε εν Ἡλιε πολει θεσ Οσιρεως, ως μετεβη εις τωτο το γενοσ, μετετεθη τ'ενομα, και προσηγορευθη ² Μωϋσης.

From hence we learn that there was a twofold race of people, who sojourned in *Egypt*: and, however their history may be in some respects confused, yet much light may be obtained from it upon a close examination. They were each of them esteemed *Shepherds*; as will be found upon farther inquiry. The first *Shepherds* were lords and conquerors: the others were servants; and had the very city given them to inhabit, which the first had evacuated. These latter are manifestly a separate and distinct people: and, though they may have some circumstances blended and misplaced; yet, from the name of their leader and lawgiver, it is plain that they were *Israelites*. As to the first, they are supposed to have been *Arabians*; and are said to have come from the east. Indeed, every nation, that ever came out of *Asia* into *Egypt*, must ultimately come from the east: there being but one way into the country, which was by the *Isthmus* between the two seas. If this was the sense of *Manetho*, it was saying nothing. It was a circumstance common to every nation that way, which visited the land of *Ham*. His meaning was, that they came from a country situated eastward, in respect to that which they came to. They were undoubtedly the *Aurita*: and the city they founded was *Auris*, called by the *Grecians* *Αυαρις* and sometimes *Αβαρις* (*Avaris* and *Abaris*) by an easy and natural inflection. The city *Avaris* is no other than the city ³ *אור*, *Ur* or *Aur*, which signifies light and fire; of

² We see here the traces of the history both of *Joseph* and *Moses*; which are blended together: as they are by almost every writer in profane history who mentions them, or alludes to their transactions.

³ The *Αυαρις* of *Tatian*, from *אור*. See §. 59. Edit. Oxon. 1700. the same as the *Ουρια* of *Eupolemus*, and the *Αουαρις* of *Ptolemy Mendefius*.

of which element the ⁴*Auritaë* must have been worshippers, as all the *Arabians* were. Their chief god was *Alorus*: supposed to be the *Hephæstus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Mulciber* or *Vulcan* of the *Latins*, and by some esteemed *Bacchus*; but answering nearly to their *Ouranus* and *Ourania*, which were derived from it. *Arrian* says that "the *Arabians* worshipped only two gods, *Ouranus* and *Dionysus*:" ⁵ Ἀραβίας δυο μόνον τιμᾶν θεούς, τὸν Οὐρανὸν τε καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον. *Herodotus* speaks much to the same purpose; but calls these deities *Dionysus* and *Ourania*: ⁶ Διόνυσον δὲ θεὸν μένον καὶ τὴν Οὐρανίην ἡγεόνται εἶναι—εὐνομαζέσσι δὲ τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον, Οὐροτάλτ' τὴν δὲ Οὐρανίην, Ἀλιλάτ: that "they called the first of these *Ourotalt*, and the latter *Alilat*." I wonder that ⁷*Bochart* and other learned men should be at all puzzled about the name *Ourotalt*: for, though there is a redundancy of one letter, yet it is nothing else but אוראל, *Al* ⁸*Orath*, the *Alorus* of the *Greek* writers misplaced. The mistake arose from *Herodotus*, or the person he copied from, not being used to the eastern way of writing from the right to the left: who has therefore been guilty of this little miscarriage in reducing the words to order. The other deity, *Alilat*, has ever been in vogue among the *Arabians*, whose name they introduced upon every occasion. It is mentioned by ⁹*Constantine Porphyrogennetus*; as well as by *Euthymius Zygabenus*, and the author of the *Saracenica*, with an invocation

⁴ Various have been the opinions of the learned about this people. *Auritarum nomine intelliguntur Dii Semideique, qui tempus historicum præcessere.* *Marsham.* Sec. VIII. And yet he supposes that they received their name from the city *Abaris*. *Perizonius*, Vol. 1. pag. 24. allows only the gods to be the *Auritaë*; which is a very nice distinction of a point not to be distinguished.

⁵ De Expedit. Alex. Lib. 7.

⁶ Lib. 3. Cap. 8.

⁷ Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. Lib. 2. Cap. 19.

⁸ Instead of *Al Orath* or *Al Orat*, *Oratal*.

⁹ Προσευχονται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἁγρον, ὃ καλεῖται Κουβαρ' καὶ ἀναφωνοῦσιν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ αὐτῶν οὕτως: Ἀλλὰ Οὐα Κουβαρ' ὃ ἐστίν, ὁ θεὸς ἡ Ἀφροδίτη. De Administ. Imp. Cap. 14.

tion of the goddesses at large. The last of these calls it an impious and detestable address, which is recited in the following words; *Allah, Allah, Oua Coubar Allah*. It is moreover said that "*Oua* signifies greater, and *Coubar* great; by which is "meant both *Venus* and the Moon:" ¹ ἔχει δὲ ἡ λέξις τῆς μυσταρᾶς αὐτῶν καὶ πανθεῖου προσευχῆς οὕτως, Ἀλλὰ, Ἀλλὰ, Οὐὰ Κεβάρ Ἀλλὰ. Ὁ μὲν Ἀλλὰ ἐρμηνεύεται Θεός, τὸ δὲ Οὐὰ μείζων, τὸ δὲ Κεβάρ μεγάλη· εἴτ' ἐν ἡ Σελήνῃ, καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτῃ Θεός. This is not expressed, nor interpreted quite truly: but I shall say more concerning it hereafter. It was an invocation of so long standing among the *Arabians*, that *Mahomet* could not make them lay it aside; and therefore adopted it into his own religion: wisely admitting, what he could not hinder; but it was with some alteration; *Il Allah Allah, Mohammed Reful Allah*: "God is great, and *Mahomet* is his prophet."

The true meaning of the above names is obscured by their being interpreted and explained by the deities of the *Greeks* and *Romans*; who strove to find a similitude between their own gods, and the gods of every country they came to: persuading themselves, that they were all the same under different ²denominations. This was the case with respect to the gods of the *Germans* and *Gauls*, as well as those of *Syria* and *Egypt*; which they adopted for their own. And had they travelled to the *Ganges* or to *China*, it would have been all one: they would have done the same by *Wistnou* and *Ixora*, *Brama* and *Somonacedoma*, or by *Witzli-putzli* at *Mexico*. They presumed to have an acquaintance even with the *JEHOVAH* of the *Jews*: and ³*Plutarch* assures us, he was no other than

¹ *Anonym. Auctor de Saracenorum principe et historiâ, unâ cum Euthymii Zygabeni Lib. Elench. Sectæ Ismaeliticæ. pag. 70. operâ Sylburg. 1595.*

² They adopted so many different deities, that there were no less than three hundred gods of the title of *Jupiter*. *Varro trecentos Joves (sive Jupiteres dicendum) introducit. Tertul. Apolog. Cap. 14.*

³ Συμμάχος, ἀρα, εἶπεν, αὐτὸν πατριωτὴν θεόν, ὡς Λαμπρία, εὐσιον, ὀρσιγυναικα, μακρομέναις ἀνθεόντα τιμαῖσι, Διονύσου ἐγγράφεις, καὶ ὑποποιεῖς τοῖς Ἑβρα-

than *Bacchus*. ⁴*Tacitus* mentions it as a received notion. Such was their vanity and ignorance. In the place before us they esteemed *Alorus* both as *Dionysus* and *Vulcan*: which is inconsistent. But if an antient *Chaldean* could have spoken in the affair, he would have disclaimed all resemblance or connection; and would have thought both himself and his deity injured by such a comparison. He was, doubtless, guilty of idolatry in worshipping the supreme Deity, the dispenser of light and every other blessing, under a resemblance: yet there are degrees even in idolatry. He was not so gross in his worship, or in his conceptions, as the *Greeks* and *Romans* were; who pretended to a partnership with him in his religion. His *Alorus* had no resemblance to the ⁵god of grapes, or to *Mulciber* the blacksmith. He would have deemed such a comparison an abomination. The superstitions of old were not uniform; nor were the gods of different nations the same. It is therefore wonderful that ⁶*Christian* writers should run into the same errors: copying the *Greeks* in their idle notions; and making inferences from a supposed resemblance and identity, which never existed.

The meaning of *Al Orus* is "the god of ⁷fire;" as *El Allath* is "god the sun." The *Shepherds* were called *Auritæ* from the chief object of their worship: and their kings were stiled priests of ⁸*Alorus*; according to the *Greeks*, the priests

of

των ἀπορήτοις; ἢ τῷ οὐτὶ λόγος ἐστὶ τις ὁ τῆτον ἐκεῖνῳ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποφαινῶν; Ὁ δὲ Μοιραγενὴς ὑπολαβὼν, ἐκ τῆτον, εἶπεν· ἐγὼ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖος ὡς ἀποκρίνομαι σοὶ καὶ λέγω, μὴδὲνα ἄλλου εἶναι. *Sympos. Lib. 4. Probl. 5.*

⁴ *Hist. Lib. 5.*

⁵ The name of *Bacchus* came from them; but his base attributes were the produce of *Greece* and *Rome*.

⁶ See *Hyde*, *Huetius*, *Bochart*, and even the great *Sir Isaac Newton*.

⁷ *Diod. Sic. Lib. 1. pag. 8. Herodot. Lib. 2. Cap. 3.*

⁸ *Alorus* is originally a *Babylonish* god and hero. As a god it represents the sun, the supposed god of light and fire: when it betokens a man, it seems to refer both to *Chus* and *Nimbrod*; but more particularly to the latter, who was the first monarch upon earth, and the first deified hero.

of *Vulcan*: which title often occurs in the antient annals of *Egypt*. From these particulars we may infer that they came from *Babylonia*, a country that lay due east from *Egypt*, and which was the original seat of the genuine *Arabians*, and the true source whence their religion flowed. The two principal cities of that country were *Ur*, or, as it is otherwise written, *Aur*, and *Babylon*. In memory of which they built two of the same name in *Egypt*. The place of residence, where their kings held their court, was *Memphis*; but the provinces, that they were particularly seized of, were *Phacusa* and *Heliopolis*. In all these places they introduced the *Tzeba Sebamaim*, or *Zabian* worship, together with the worship of fire. Hence we learn from *Herodotus*, that *Vulcan* was particularly honoured at *Heliopolis* and *Memphis*. Both these places they are said to have built: and to the latter they gave the name of *Ain Shems* or *Shemesh*, that is, "the fountain of the sun:" which the *Egyptians* seem to have pronounced *On*, and sometimes *Aven*. The temple was called *Beth-shemesh*: and they are both frequently alluded to by the prophets and sacred writers, together with the neighbouring province *Bubastus*. "The young men of *Aven* and *Phibesath* shall fall by the sword: and these cities shall go into captivity." "He [*Nebuchadnezzar*] shall break also the images of *Beth-shemesh*, that is in the land of *Egypt*; and the houses of the gods of the *Egyptians* shall he burn with fire." These names given to the places, and the worship introduced there, bespeak them of *Arabian* original. And ²*Pliny* tells us, that *Juba* in his history particularly maintained that *Heliopolis* was built by *Arabians*. *Juba tradit—Solis quoque oppidum, quod non procul Memphi in Aegypti situ diximus, Arabas conditores habere.* And ³*Diodorus Siculus* alludes to the same circumstance,

⁹ *Ezek.* 30. v. 17.

¹ *Jerem.* 43. v. 13.

² *Nat. Hist. Lib.* 6. Cap. 29.

³ *Lib.* 1. pag. 32.

stance, when he says, that *Uchoreus*, or the prince *Orus*, was the founder of *Memphis*: Ουχόρευς ἐκτίσε πόλιν Μεμφιν, ἐπιφάνε-
 σάτην τῶν κατ' Αἰγύπτου For *Orus* is a name of *Chaldean* ori-
 ginal; by which their chief deity was signified: as well as
 some of their kings, who assumed the name to themselves, or
 had it bestowed upon them by their subjects. The worship
 of *Orus* was brought into *Egypt* by the *Arabians*, and super-
 added to the religion of the country. And as the *Grecians*
 called the city ⁴*Aur* in *Egypt* *Avaris* and *Aouaris*; so they li-
 quidated and changed the name of *Orus*, whom they called
Aoueris, by the same inflexion: whose history we have epi-
 tomized in ⁵*Plutarch* in the same manner as I have repre-
 sented. Τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ Οσίριν γενεσθαι—τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τὸν Ἀρηριν,
 ὃν Ἀπολλῶνα, ὃν καὶ πρεσβύτερον Ὀρον ἐνιοὶ καλεῖσι.

The *Greeks* and *Romans* called these people *Arabians*: but
 their true name was *Cushan* or ⁶*Cuseans*; the same that they
 gave to the province where they settled. This is evident from
 the etymology of *Phaccusa*, which is compounded of פַּחַת כּוּשׁ,
Phacat Cusan, or the canal of *Cushan*: being called from the
 canal that it was bounded by, as many places in *Egypt* were,
 such as *Athribis*, *Cnoufbis*, *Bebesitis*, *Phithom*. Now *Cush* and
Cushan in Scripture almost always relate to *Arabia*.

Some,

⁴ The city *Ur* in *Chaldea* is called Ουρία: Ἐν πόλει τῆς Βαβυλωνίας Κα-
 μαρινῇ, ἣν τινὰς λέγουσι πόλιν Ουριν. *Eupolemus apud Euseb. Præp. Evang.*
Lib. 9. Cap. 17. Edit. Paris. 1628.

⁵ *De Isid. et Osir.* Εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν Οσίριν ἐξ Ἥλιος καὶ τὸν Ἀρηριν. *Ibid.*
 Ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασὶ καὶ τὸν Ἀρηριν οὕτω γεγονέναι, καὶ καλεῖσθαι πρεσβύτερον Ὀρον
 ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων, Ἀπολλῶνα δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων. *Ibid.* It should be corrected
 from the above, and written Ἀρηριν. That *Aoueris* and *Orus* are no other
 than 𐤀𐤓 of the *Hebrews* is plain from *Manetho*; who calls him by that
 name, and says, that he was admitted to the sight of the gods, and that
Amenophis desired the same privilege, θεῶν γενεσθαι θεάτην ὥσπερ Ὀρ.—
 so it stood in the old copies. *Joseph. contra Apion. Lib. 1. Cap. 26.*

⁶ The people here mentioned are spoken of under the names of *A-*
rabians, *Ethiopians*, *Cuseans*, *Cutheans*, men of *Cush* and *Cutba*.

There must have been two places of this name, one a village upon the
 canal, the other a city and capital of a nome, if *Ptolemy's* account be quite
 true, which last was situated in *Delta* at the extremity opposite to *Babylon*.

Some, indeed, have thought that *Ethiopia* is meant by *Cushan*: but ⁷*Bochart* has proved past contradiction that it signifies *Arabia*. ⁸ "I saw the tents of *Cushan* in affliction: "and the curtains of the land of *Madian* did tremble." Where the two places are put as *ισοδυναμα*: and what the land of *Madian* was, is well known. *Zipporah* the wife of *Moses*, is termed ⁹*Cusitis*; and she was of *Midian*. But nothing can shew it more clearly than the *Psalmist* ¹ "Behold " *Philistia* and *Tyre*, with *Ethiopia*:" where the arrangement points out the nation alluded to. And, ² "I will make the "land of *Egypt* utterly waste and desolate, from the tower of " *Syene* even unto the border of *כוש*, *Ethiopia*;" *A turri Syenes usque ad terminum Chus*. Where *Chus* must signify *Arabia*: for *Syene* stood upon the borders of *Ethiopia* proper; therefore that country cannot be meant here. There would be a great distance implied, and no interval. ³ Ἡ δὲ Συηνη καὶ ἡ Ἐλεφαντινὴ, ἡ μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν ὄρων τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτῆ πόλις, ἡ δ' ἐν τῷ Νείλῳ προκειμένη. It had therefore been rendered better *Arabia*; for that is here meant. However, there is not that difference in opinion, which *Bochart* imagines: for they that suppose *Chus* to signify *Ethiopia*, mean not *Ethiopia* proper; but *Arabia*. For many of the antients placed *Ethiopia* in *Arabia Felix*: others extended it to *Persia* and *India*: *Ethiopia* being with them in acceptation like *India* with others; a very lax and undefined term, that they used in a most unlimited manner; of which many ⁴instances might be produced.

Jose-

⁷ Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

⁸ *Habbak.* 3. v. 7.

⁹ *Numb.* 12. v. 1.

¹ *Psalms.* 87. v. 4.

² *Ezek.* 29. v. 10.

³ *Strab.* Vol. 2. pag. 1171.

⁴ *Philostratus* speaks of *Ethiopians* that were *Indians*: Αἰθιοπες μὲν ὡκοῦν εὐταυθα, γένος Ἰνδικόν. *De vit. Apollon.* Lib. 3. Cap. 20. Αἰθιοπες ἀπὸ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ. *Euseb. Chron.* pag. 25.

Josephus was aware of this error, and therefore makes a proper distinction; telling us, that, though some of the *Arabians* were injudiciously called ⁵*Ethiopians*, yet their true name was *Cuseans*: ⁶ Αἰθιοπες γὰρ, ὧν ηῤῥε [Χεs], ἐτι καὶ νυν ὑπο ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντων, Χεσαιοὶ καλεῖνται. Hence we find, that all those who were descended from *Chus*, and whom some people termed *Ethiopians*, were stiled among themselves, and by all the people of *Asia*, *Cuseans*. *Chus* is called his self an *Ethiopian*, which cannot be construed a native of *Africa*: ⁷ Χεs Αἰθιοψ· Χεs, ἐξ ἑ Αἰθιοπες. The *Alexandrine Chronicle* speaks to the same purpose: Εγεννηθη δε καὶ ἄλλος ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Χαμ, Χεs ὀνοματι, ὁ Αἰθιοψ, ὅς τις ἐγεννησε τὸν Νεμβρωδ γιγαντα, The *Cuseans* then,

⁵ See *Hyde Relig. Vet. Pers. Cap. 2. pag. 37. Marsham Canon Chron. Sec. XIII.*

⁶ *Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 6.*

⁷ *Syncelli Chronograph. pag. 47. Edit. Paris. 1652.* The *Arabians* are generally stiled *Ethiopians* by *Procopius*. Χεs, ἐξ οὗ Αἰθιοπες: *Euseb. Chron. p. 11. Edit. Scalig.* Καὶ προηλθουσιν ἐκ μὲν Χεs Χεσαιοὶ· Αἰθιοπες οὗτοι εἰσι. *Zonarae Annales. Lib. 1. Cap. 5.* *Bochart* goes too far in supposing that *Cushan* refers always to *Arabia*. As the *Arabians* were in situation near to the land of *Canaan*, they were better known to the *Israelites* than the western *Ethiopians* could possibly be; who were however descended from *Chus*, as well as the others, and sometimes alluded to in Scripture, and called *Cuseans*. Therefore in these cases the sense of the text must direct us. "Can the *Cusean* change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" *Jeremiah* 13. v. 23. This relates to the western *Ethiopians*. So does the passage in *Chap. 46. v. 9.* of the same prophet: "Come up, ye horses; and rage, ye chariots; and let the mighty men come forth: the *Ethiopians* (*Cush*), and the *Libyans*, that handle the shield; and the *Ludim*, that handle and bend the bow." *Cush* is not here *Arabia* or the *Arabian*; but, as it is rendered, the *Ethiopian*. The *Ethiopians* were of the same family as the *Arabians*; and, like them, came from *Babylonia*; of which there are many traces. The first province of *Ethiopia* from *Egypt* is the land of *Sennaer* at this day. In short, the *Cuseans* were twofold, both called *Ethiopians*;

Οἱ μὲν δυσσομενὸν ὤπεριονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιοντος.

The eastern were more generally termed *Arabians*. Of both these nations *Herodotus* gives a very distinct and satisfactory account, *Lib. 7. Cap. 70.* *Hyde* is therefore wrong, *Cap. 2. pag. 28: Ex dictis constat quod Cush semper in S. Bibliis sit Arabia.*

then, however they may be sometimes stiled *Ethiopians*, were no other than *Arabians*. And hence it was that the *Cusean* provinces in *Egypt* were thus interpreted. It is now very plain why *Phaccusa* or *Cushan*, together with the nome of *Heliopolis*, (of which it seems to have been a portion) were called *Arabian*: even from the *Arabians*, or, as they were originally stiled, the *Cuseans*, who possessed them; and at their departure bequeathed their name to them. The *Greeks* therefore expressed themselves ill, when they first distinguished these nomes; which they should not have stiled *Νομοὶ τῆς Αραβίας*, but *τῶν Αραβῶν*: not *Arabian* nomes, but nomes of the *Arabians*: which would have been a truer interpretation of *Tabir Cushan*; as they were not denominated from their situation, but from the nation that once possessed them.

These strangers therefore who settled in *Egypt* were no other than the *Cuseans*; and have been stiled *Arabian* shepherds: for all the primitive *Arabians* were *nomades* or shepherds. This people becoming lords of the country, undoubtedly chose where seemed most eligible; and their profession would lead them to the best of the land for pasturage: in which respect *Goshen* had not it's equal. For it was part of the *πεδίου Αιγυπτου*, the rich champain of *Egypt*: so that this circumstance among others would induce one to suppose that they settled here. This is confirmed by the worship which they established in these parts; the cities they built; and the name that they bequeathed to the province. In the *Mosaic* account the land of *Goshen* is repeatedly said to be in the land of *Egypt*, "in the best of the land:" and yet the *Seventy* call it *Γεσσεμ τῆς Αραβίας*: which could arise from no other reason but it's being the land of *Cushan*, which was interpreted *Arabian*: for in ⁸ *Arabia* it was not situated. In our trans-

⁸ Many have thought, that the place given to the children of *Israel* for their abode in *Egypt* was at *Heliopolis*, or in the vicinity of it: which was

translation we call the place, where I suppose them to settle, *Goshen*; which may perhaps sound somewhat remote from what I suppose it to represent. The original is *שן*, and may fairly be rendered *Gushan*: which amounts only to a different dialect; and, like *Coptis*, *Kuptis*, *Αιγυπτος*, *Ægyptus*, relates to one and the same place. This is plain from *Bar Bahlul*, the *Syriac* Lexicographer; who always expresses *Goshen* by *שן*, *Cushan*; and interprets it *Cushatha*, or the land of the *Cuseans*. Oriental evidence must in this case be esteemed of consequence; and is a confirmation of what I maintain.

According to the above determination, the place where the children of *Israel* resided in *Egypt* was in the principal *Arabian* nome; at the extreme and highest part of lower *Egypt*, called *Gushan*. This agrees well with what is said of *Joseph*; that he ⁹ "made ready his chariot, and went UP to meet *Israel* his father, to *Goshen*:" which term of *going up* must have it's weight; and cannot be made to agree with any other situation, that has been attributed to this land. And it is a circumstance not to be overlooked: for the sacred writer speaks always with meaning and precision. That the residence of *Pharaoh*, and the chief scene of all the wonderful transactions was in lower *Egypt*, may be inferred from many passages in Scripture. This part of the country, being very broad at it's basis, and by degrees tapering towards a point, was supposed by ¹ *Strabo* to be like the *Greek* letter *ν* inverted. *Scylax Cary-*
an-

was the situation of the *Cusean* nome, called by *Ptolemy* *Phaccusa*. But they were at a loss to determine where either *Heliopolis* itself was, or it's environs, which they continually misplaced. *Zonaras*, speaking of *Pharaoh's* admitting *Jacob* and his family into *Egypt*, says, that he placed them at *Heliopolis*: *Και μαθὼν ποιεμένας εἶναι τὰς μετ' αὐτῆς, συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν Ἑλίῳ πόλιν κατοικῆσαι.* Vol. 1. Cap. 11. According to the later division of the country, it might not improperly be esteemed to have been part of the *Heliopolitan* nome.

⁹ *Gen.* 46. v. 29.

¹ Vol. 2. pag. 1133.

andenfis thought it resembled an ax or hatchet: ² *Εἰς δὲ τὴν Αἴ-
γυπτον τοιαυτὴν ἰδεῖν ὁμοίαν πελεκεῖ.* But the natives esteemed
it to be more like the section of a pear: on which account it
was stiled by them, and by the *Hebrews*, *Rab* and *Raab*; and
by the *Arabians* *Rib* and *Airib*, *Tellus piriformis*: and this
very part of the country, that now reaches from overagainst
Cairo downwards towards *Rosetta*, is called ³ *Erib* at this day.
The sacred writers, in speaking of the wonderful occurrences
which their forefathers had been witnesses to in these parts,
refer them sometimes to the land of *Ham* in general: but at
other times they are more determinate; and speak of them as
particularly transacted in *Raab* or lower *Egypt*. ⁴ “I will
“make mention of *Rahab* and *Babylon*.” ⁵ “Thou hast
“broken *Rahab* in pieces, as one that is slain: Thou hast
“scattered thine enemies with thy strong arm.” And *Isaiab*
still more expressly; ⁶ “Awake, awake, put on strength, O
“arm of the Lord;—Art thou not it that hath cut ⁷ *Rahab*,
“and ⁸ wounded the Dragon?” *i. e.* *Pharaoh*, who is often al-

² Geogr. Vet. Vol. 1. pag. 43.

³ *Leo Africanus* calls it *Errif*. *Ab Alcairo Rosetum oram vocant Errifiam: ab Alcairo ad Bugiæ confinia Sabid—Tota Ægyptus cum sit fertilissima, Sabidica tamen provincia reliquas partes, omnis generis leguminum, animalium, pullorum, linique copiâ antecellit: Errifia fructibus et orizâ.* Lib. 8. This is the *πεδῖον Αἰγυπτου* of *Herodotus*.

⁴ *Psalms*. 87. v. 4.

⁵ *Psalms*. 89. v. 10.

⁶ Chap. 51. v. 9.

⁷ Among the *Punic* remains at *Malta* is a hill, which is still called *Gibel al Rahab*, for the same reason that the country of lower *Egypt* was so named; being of a conical or triangular figure, like the cowl of a monk's hood. *Gibel al Rahab sic dictus ratione et occasione figuræ, quæ ad instar cucullati cuicunque mare de subter transeunti apparere videtur.* *Abelæ Malta*. pag. 49. Cap. 68. Edit. Lat.

⁸ In the *Vulgate*, *Numquid non Tu—vulnerasti Draconem?* “Thou
“didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou brakest the heads of the
“dragons in the waters.” *Psalms*. 74. v. 13.

alluded to under that name. This may be learned from a similar passage in *Ezekiel*: 9 “Speak, and say, Thus saith the Lord God; Behold, I am against thee, *Pharaoh* king of *Egypt*, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers, which hath said, My river is mine own, and I have made it myself. But I will put hooks in thy jaws.” But nothing can prove the situation of the *Israelites* more plainly than the words of *Moses*. I have mentioned before that lower *Egypt* differed from the upper; inasmuch as it was all a flat, but the upper had hills and declivities. It is observed by travellers that it scarce ever rains here: but this want is amply supplied by the waters of the *Nile*; which annually overflow, and render the country amazingly fruitful. These are circumstances that are peculiar to *Egypt*, and which are not observable in other regions. *Moses* therefore, to prevent any disappointment among the *Israelites* on account of the different soil and climate where they were going, tells them before hand what they were to expect. ¹ “For the land whither thou goest in to possess it is not as the land of *Egypt*, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy feed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs: But the land whither ye go to possess it is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven.” This description can relate only to that part of *Egypt* called *Delta*: for the other had hills and mountains, and springs of water. The soil of the lower was very little above the surface of the river: on which account in early times they were continually making artificial mounds (*χωματα*), on which they raised their cities. It was likewise of a soft, yielding nature; *δωρον τε ποταμῶν*, composed of the sediment of the *Nile*: so that a person might easily with his foot make a channel; and the water would in many places flow in, or rise

up

⁹ Chap. 29. v. 3.

¹ *Deuteron.* 11. v. 10, 11.

up towards the surface. All these passages relate manifestly to lower *Egypt*, which was triangular, flat, and abounded with canals and rivers: and they afford strong evidence in favour of what I have been proving. The situation of the children of *Israel* at the vertex of the country agrees well, as I before mentioned, with the place of residence of *Joseph*, which must have been below: and it is therefore with great propriety said, that "he made ready his chariot, and went "up to meet *Israel* his father." It agrees likewise with the account given by ²*Josephus*; who makes the general rendezvous of the children of *Israel* at their departure to have been at *Latopolis* or *Litopolis*. He calls it indeed *Letopolis*: but that was an inland city, to the west; far out of the way for people who were taking this journey: ³Λητες πολις μεσαγαιος. But he explains himself in such a manner, as not possibly to be mistaken. "They journeyed from a city, that was then "in ruins, where *Babylon* was afterwards built:" but *Babylon* was built upon the hill of the quarries, close by *Latopolis*, which is the city meant here: and so it should be read in *Josephus*; Την δε πορειαν εποικντο κατα Λατοπολιν ερημον εσαν εν τοις τοτε Βαβυλων γαρ υστερον κτιζεται εκει. This *Latopolis* is the same that is mentioned by *Herodotus* and ⁴*Strabo*, overagainst *Cercasoura*, and

² *Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 15.*

³ *Ptol. Geogr. Lib. 4.*

⁴ *Litopolis*, or, as it is called in the *Itinerary*, *Latopolis*, was originally a town where the people who belonged to the quarries dwelt. *Babylon*, when it was rebuilt, was made use of for a garrison, and was close to *Latopolis*: so that they are mentioned as the same place. Βαβυλων Φραριου ερυμνον. *Strab. Vol. 2. pag. 1160.* *Latopolis* was at that part of *Egypt* where it was narrowest; at the junction of the upper and lower country, overagainst the apex of *Delta*. It was of so particular a situation, that people could not well come from any other part, but the province of *Cushan* or *Goshen*, to make it a place of rendezvous: it lay so much out of the way of other places. See also *Herodotus Lib. 2. Cap. 8.* of the hill of *Arabia*. *Strabo* distinguishes between *Litopolis* and *Latopolis*. The former he places close by *Babylon*, as I have shewn: the latter he mentions *Vol. 2. pag. 1171.* in the vicinity of the city of *Crocodiles* above four hundred miles higher, almost as far as *Syene*.

and the province of *Cushan*. The next place that the *Israelites* came to was *Succoth*, or *Tabernacula*, called by the *Greeks* Σκηναι; which lay directly in the rout. The *Greeks* should rather have interpreted *Succoth* by Σηκοι, which more immediately expresses the meaning, and is probably derived from it. All these circumstances correspond marvellously to the establishment of what I have been endeavouring to prove.

Here then was the land to which the children of *Israel* succeeded, after it had been abandoned by its former inhabitants: but at what interval is uncertain. It seems pretty plain, from the tenor of the Scripture, that they came into a vacant, unoccupied district. And, as it was the best of the land, there is no accounting for its being unoccupied, but by the secession of the *Cuseans*, whose property it had lately been. *Joseph*, when he instructs his brethren what answer they were to give to *Pharaoh*, when he should inquire about their occupation, lays this injunction upon them; ⁵ “Ye shall say, thy servants trade hath been about cattle, from our youth even until now, both we and also our fathers: that ye may dwell in the land of *Goshen*; for every shepherd is an abomination unto the *Egyptians*.” From whence *Le Clerc* very justly collects, that this land must have been in possession of shepherds or herdsmen before. *Quæ enim colligere potuisset Josephus fratribus, arte editâ, eum tractum incolendum concessum iri, nisi &c.* The inference he makes is good, that there must have been shepherds in those parts before; otherwise *Joseph* could not have foreseen that, upon telling their occupation, this land would necessarily be given to his brethren. But, that the shepherds were *Egyptians*, as he affirms, is unwarrantable to suppose: and, as to the national custom that he alludes to, it is all matter of groundless surmise. Authority for it he has none: nor can any reason possibly be given to suppose that the *Egyptians*

⁵ Gen. 46. v. 34.

ptians deserted the best of their ⁶land. They were undoubtedly the *Arabian* shepherds, who were before in possession of it; and were called *Cushan* or *Cuseans*, from *Chus* the founder of their race. They gave name to this part of the country, which was called from them *Cushan* and *Gushan*; by *Ptolemy* *Phaccusa*, Φακκυσσα; which is supposed to have been the name both of the city and province. They deserted it at last, being expelled by the natives: and the land lay for some time desolate: which accounts for the words of *Joseph*, which cannot otherwise be explained. It likewise affords a satisfactory reason for the *Israelites* finding such easy access into the country; so as not only to dwell in it, but to have the land of *Goshen* given them for a possession, even the best of the land of *Egypt*. ⁷ “And *Israel* dwelt in the land of *Egypt* in the country of *Goshen*; and they had possessions therein.”

It is supported strongly by the evidence of *Manetho*; who tells us, that the second *Shepherds* succeeded to the places which had been deserted by the former: and mentions particularly that the city *Abaris*, which had been built by the first *Shepherd* king, was given to those of their body who were employed in the ⁸quarries. The *Lithotomiæ* or quarries were close to the deserted city; which for that reason was called by the *Greeks* in after times *Lithopolis* or *Litopolis*.

Josephus, out of a desire to aggrandize his own nation, supposes that the *Shepherds* who bore rule in *Egypt* were his ancestors; and that hence arose the hatred that the *Egyptians* bore them: ὅτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδυναστεύσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι. For this reason he makes no difference between the two-

⁶ The words of *Le Clerc* are these: *antea etiam eam regionem Pastoribus Ægyptiis attributam, qui sejuncti ab aliis vivebant. Quæ enim colligere potuisset Josephus, fratribus, arte editâ, eum tractum concessum iri, nisi ex more gentis?*

⁷ *Gen.* 47. v. 27.

⁸ *Joseph.* contra Apion. Lib. 1. §. 26.

⁹ *Joseph.* contra Apion. Lib. 1. §. 25.

twofold race of shepherds, which *Manetho*, even as he quotes him, sufficiently distinguishes. The first were the *Cuseans* and their *Pastor* kings, who held the country in bondage: the others were the *Israelitish* shepherds; who succeeded to the first, and were themselves in a state of ¹ slavery.

We are informed by *Manetho*, that the *Shepherds* who came first into *Egypt* were called Ὑκσως, *Hycsos*; the first syllable, in the sacred dialect, signifying a lord or prince; and the latter, in the national common tongue, a shepherd. This is not satisfactory; though taken, as *Josephus* assures us, from *Manetho*. There are few instances of words compounded from two different languages. Besides, the etymology was probably to be looked for in the language of the people who were called so. *Eusebius* has given us this title somewhat different, and deduces it from one language only: ² Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ το συμπαν αὐτῶν ἔθνος Ὑκσσως τὸ δὲ ἐστὶ, βασιλεῖς ποιμένες. Το γὰρ ὙΚ, καθ' ἱεραν γλῶσσαν, βασιλεα σημαίνει· τὸ δὲ ΟΥΣΣΩΣ, ποιμην ἐστὶ. “This whole nation had the title of *Hukoussos* or *Royal Shepherds*: for the first syllable in the sacred tongue signifies “a prince, and the two last a shepherd.” *Eusebius* seems to have taken some pains, to give us a more genuine ³ reading than

¹ Many are misled by a mistake of *Manetho* in making the first *Shepherds* retire towards *Syria* and build *Jerusalem*: from whence they conclude they were *Israelites*. But this is a trifling circumstance to go upon, in opposition to express evidence to the contrary. And even here, they argue upon a false principle; as if *Jerusalem* was built by the children of *Israel*. *Jebus* was a city of the *Jebusites* before *Israel* came into *Canaan*: and it was never fully in their possession, till *Joab* took the strong hold of *Sion*. The *Israelites* therefore did not build it: nor did the *Shepherds*, I imagine, who were before them; though there is no proof of this, and it is unjust to make any inference either way.

² *Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. Cap. 13.* He makes the whole word to be a compound in the sacred language. From whence we may learn that the language so called by the *Egyptians* was the *Cusean* or antient *Arabian*; the same as the *Chaldee*.

³ He probably had corrected this passage from *Apion*, who, as well as *Manetho*, wrote the history of *Egypt*.

than that which is found in *Josephus*: and, from the light that he affords us, we may possibly arrive at the true meaning of the word, though contrary to his determination. The *Grecians* were very unfortunate in their etymologies; and bad copiers of every thing from the orientals: so much so, that there is scarce an instance of their representing things truly. *Manetho* his self was an *Egyptian* grecified: and the mistake may be originally in him; as he was as little acquainted with the sacred language of his country as a foreigner; the knowledge of it being in his time lost. The *Cuseans* were certainly shepherds, and were generally termed so by the *Egyptians*. But this must not be esteemed their gentile name: for they were denominated from their country, and distinguished by the name of their fathers. That name was *Cush* and *Cushan*; which the *Greeks* expressed by *Χους* and *Χεσος*. This *Eusebius* has preserved; but has not transmitted the name entirely pure and unembarrassed. *Uc* or *Ouc* certainly signifies lord or prince, something great and noble. It is a *Babylonish* word; and was adopted by the *Egyptians*, and occurs often in the name of their kings. The original which *Josephus* copied was *Υκνους*, or, with the *Greek* termination, *Υκνουσος*; that is, the great *Cush*, or lord *Cusean*. It is true, *Υκνουσος*, or, as it had better be written, *Υκχεσος*, relates to a people who were shepherds: but that profession is not necessarily nor originally included in the name. *Josephus* having said that *Σως* signified a shepherd, induced *Eusebius* to retain it, and to write the word *Υκνουσως*; a mistake that is easily remedied.

The *Egyptians* had several terms of honour, which they pre-

4 How should they possibly be happy in their etymologies of foreign words, who go so wide of the mark even in their native language, when they undertake to define any thing? *Plato* in his *Cratylus* says that *ανθρωπος* is quasi *αναδρων α οπαιτε*, *contemplans quæ viderit*: *ανδρα*, *παρὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ῥοὴν γυνή*, quasi *γυνή*, *fætus*: *οὐρανός*, *παρὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄρα*. *Ἰεὺς καὶ θεός*, *παρὰ τὸ ἰεῖν, ὅτι ἐστὶν ἱερεῖον*. This was one of the brightest geniuses that ever Greece saw. See *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. II. Cap. 6.*

prefixed to the names of great personages: such as *Petab*, *Caen* or *Cohen*, and the title that we are speaking of, *Uc*, *Ouc*, or *Ouac*; for so it is often written. The first is to be found in *Petiphra*, *Potipherah*, *Petisonius*, *Petofiris*, *Petarhemis*, *Petubastes* the *Tanite*, and ⁵*Petesuccus* builder of the labyrinth. *Petis*, called *Peteos* in *Homer*, the father of *Menestheus* the *Athenian*, is of the same original: ⁶τον γὰρ Πέτην τον πατέρα Μενεσθεως τε στρατευσαντος εις Τροίαν, Φανερωσ Αιγυπτίου υπαρχαντα κ. τ. λ. *Caben* likewise, or *Cohen*, signifies a prince or ruler; and also a priest. For both the antient *Cuseans* and the *Egyptians* are said to have chosen their kings from among the priests. It sometimes signifies a great officer: for *Ira* the *Fairite* is stiled ⁷*Caben*. We read in *Artapanus*, as quoted by ⁸*Eusebius*, that the *Caen* of *Heliopolis* had a daughter that married one *Canebro*: in which the history of *Joseph* is obscurely alluded to; who married *Asenath* the daughter of *Potifera* or *Petifra*, called by ⁹*Eutychius* the *Caen* of *Heliopolis*. *Canebro* is כהן עבר, the *Hebrew* prince or ruler; ¹*Caen*, *Cohen*, *Con*, having in many languages that signification. *Sabacon* the *Ethiopian* means *Sabæ Rex*, “the *Arabian* king of *Saba*;” and is not properly the name of the person ² mentioned. *Canoubis*,

or,

⁵ See *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 36. Cap. 13.*

⁶ *Diodorus Sic. Lib. 1. pag. 17.* Εν τοις χρόνοις δε τῆ Μωσέως βασιλευσεν Ασσυρίων Ερεχθευς· Αιγυπτίων δε βασιλευσε Πετισωνιος, ὁ καὶ Φαραώ. *Cedren. Compend. Historiar. pag. 46. Edit. Paris. 1647.* See also pag. 41. *Chæremo*, as we learn from *Josephus*, says that the *Egyptians* called *Moses* *Fisithen*, and *Joseph* *Peteseeph*. Αιγυπτια δε αυτοις ονοματα ειναι, τῷ μὲν Μωϋση Τισιδεν, τῷ δε Ιωσηφω, Πετесеφ. *Contra Apion. Lib. 1. §. 32.* *Peteseeph* is *Petab Oseph* or *Joseph*.

⁷ *2 Samuel. 20. v. 26.* The same title is given to *Zabud* the son of *Nathan*. *1 Kings. 4. v. 5.*

⁸ *Hist. Synagog. pag. 230. Edit. Scalig. Amstel. Janson. 1658.*

⁹ *Annales. Edit. Pocock. Tom. 1. pag. 87. Gen. 41. v. 45.* כהן, the *Caben* of *On*.

¹ *Cbaan augustum nomen est regum Tartariæ appellativum. Kæmpfer. Amoenitat. Exotic. pag. 136.*

² In like manner *Conchares*, *Tarracon*, *Sarracon*, &c.

or, as it should be expressed, *Can-Ouph*, is "the lord *Ouph*;" of which I may say more hereafter. *Chiniladanus*, the name of a king of *Babylon*, is *Caen al Adon* or *Adonai*. *Thonos Concoleros*, whom *Africanus* specifies by his twofold titles, *Θωνος Κογκολερος*, ὁ καὶ Ἑλληνιστὶ Σαρδαναπαλος is (like *Sabæ Con*) *Thonos Con Ouc Al Orus*: which last has been by inexperienced writers contracted to *Coleros*. *Thamas Couli*, the late conqueror of *Persia*, was distinguished by the same title, and called *Couli Chan*: which is still in use in great part of *India* and *Tartary*. The *German koning* is similar to it; and we seem to retain it in our word *king*, but more apparently in the feminine. *Maundevile*³ calls the emperor of *China* the *Chane* of *Cathay*. He speaks of the *sege* or residence of the great *Chane*: and says, "the lordes here han folk of certayn "nombre, als they may suffice: but the grete *Chane* hathe every "day folke at his costages and expences, als withouten nombre." *Chingis Chan*, the celebrated *Tartar* emperor, called *Changius Chan* by *Hattho*, is interpreted the king of kings: for such is the purport of *Changis Chan*; answering very nearly to words of the same signification in ⁴*English*.

The other term of honour mentioned by *Josephus* and *Eusebius*, which is most to the present purpose, is found prefixed to many names both of *Babylonish* and *Egyptian* original. *Chus*, the great founder of the *Cusean* race, is called *Oucchus*, *Ouachus*, *Evechus*; from whence came the *Iacchus* and *Bacchus* of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. It is sometimes written *Ochus*, and compounded *Belochus*, a name assumed by several eastern princes.

³ Travels. pag. 257, 264.

⁴ The plural inflexion is now lost in most *English* words: but three hundred years ago we should have written and pronounced *king-es king*, what is here expressed *Chingis* and *Changis Chan*; that is, *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλεων*. The inscription of this prince's seal is mentioned by *Johannes de Plano Carpini*; and, according to his translation, is this: *Dominus in caelis, et Cayneb Chan super terram*. *Johan. de Plano Carpini*. Cap. 8. He was in *Tartary* anno 1246, being sent thither by *Pope Innocent IV*. See also the Travels of *William de Rubruquis*, anno 1253. Ch. 27.

princes. *Achoris*, *Achorus*, and *Ueboreus* the name of the person who built *Memphis*, is of the like composition; and is properly *Ouc Aur*, the great *Orus*, the prince of light, and the deity of fire. There were several kings in *Egypt* of the name of *Cheres*: some are stiled *Acheres* or *Acherres*; which is "the mighty *Cheres*:" others are stiled *Conchares* and *Achencheres*; that is *Ouc Caben Cheres*, "the great lord and ruler *Cheres*." Of this many instances may be found in the *Alexandrine Chronicle*, as well as in *Eusebius*. *Acheres* and *Achencheres* is, according to the *Greek* acceptation, "the great lord *Mars*:" but properly it is *arez*, a lion; from whence the *αρης* of the *Greeks* was derived. ⁵ Ἀλκης μὲν καὶ ῥωμης συμβολον αυτοις ὁ λεων. It was a title first conferred on the third king of *Assyria*, of whom I shall treat hereafter. The *Egyptians*, who called *Ham*, *Cham*, pronounced *Arez*, *charez* and *cherez*: hence *Accbencherez*, or *Ouc-caben-charez*. So *Hala*, *Habor*, *Haran* were at times pronounced *Chala*, *Chabor*, *Charan*. These titles were retained by the *Egyptians* even in later times. *Eudoxus*, who resided at *Heliopolis*, is said by ⁶ *Laertius* to have studied under *Iconuphy*, a priest of the country. *Iconεφου* was not, I apprehend, the name of the person, but of the deity that he was priest to; whose name and title, properly expressed, was ⁷ *Ouc Caben Ouph*, "the mighty "prince *Ouph*;" or, as the *Greeks* would have called him, *Canouphis*. *Plutarch* mentions this person expressly by this name, and stiles him *Chonuphis*, ⁸ Χονεφης προφητης. And in

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⁵ *Clem. Alex. Stromat. Lib. 5. pag. 671: Edit. Potter.*

⁶ *Lib. 8.*

⁷ *Ouc* and *Ouac*, signifying something great and splendid, was not only admitted as a title, but by some supposed to have been a real name. Hence *Marbodæus*, in his poem upon stones and gems, mentions a king of *Arabia* so called: *Evax, Rex Arabum, fertur scripsisse Neroni.*

The *Arabian* name *Evax* is the same as *Ouac* differently pronounced. *Marbodæi poetæ veteris de lapidibus et gemmis carmen. Colon. 1539.*

⁸ The priest that was applied to about the interpretation of the characters found on a tablet in *Alcmena's* tomb was called *Chonuphis*. This

was

another place, he tells us that he was of *Memphis*: ⁹ Εὐδοξὸν μὲν ἐν Χονεφῶς φασὶ Μερφίτη διακεῖσθαι; and at the same time mentions that *Pythagoras* studied under *Oenuphis* of *Heliopolis*. Neither *Chonuphis* nor *Oenuphis* are properly the names of men; but of the god *Anubis*, to whom the priest was sacred, as well as the college at *Heliopolis*, where *Eudoxus* and *Pythagoras* ¹ studied. There is a passage to this purpose in the same writer; ² where he is endeavouring to shew that *Bacchus* and *Osiris* were the same deity. One reason, and that a plausible one, is that the same plant is sacred to both; the ivy of *Bacchus* being called in the *Egyptian* language *chenosiris*: which he interprets *the plant of Osiris*. But he makes a wrong reference of the terms of which the word consists; and does not give the right interpretation. The true reading is *Chan Osiris*; and, in the original, *Caben* or *Coben Sebor*, the lord *Sebor* or *Osiris*. It is a name given to a ³ vegetable; as among us plants and flowers have names given them from great personages: but it does not originally signify a vegetable; being the title of the god it was consecrated to.

I have before mentioned the triumphal exclamation of the *Arabians* to the two deities which they worshipped, Ἀλλὰ, Ἀλλὰ,

was about the time of *Agessilaus*. *Plutarch* de Genio Socratis. Vide Opera. Vol. 2. pag. 578. Edit. Xylandr.

⁹ De Isid. et Osir.

¹ *Chonuphis* and *Oenuphis* are the same names differently written; answering to the *Anubis* of the *Romans*, and the *Canoubis* of the *Greeks*. Ἰσθόρεται δὲ Πυθαγόρας μὲν Σωγχιῇ τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ ἀρχιπροφῆτῃ μαθηθεῖσθαι. Πλάτων δὲ Σεχυνφίδι τῷ Ἡλιοπολίτῃ. Εὐδοξὸς δὲ ὁ Κνιδίος Χονεφίδι τῷ καὶ αὐτῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ. *Clem. Alexand. Strom. Lib. 1. pag. 356. Edit. Potter.*

² Ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν κίττον, ὃν Ἕλληνες τε καθιερουσι τῷ Διονυσῶ, καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις λέγεται χενοςίρις ὀνομαζεσθαι, σημαίνοντος τὸ ὀνοματός, ὡς φασί, φυτὸν Οσίριδος. *Plut. de Isid. et Osirid.*

³ The *Egyptians* gave the names of their gods to sundry plants and animals; and took them likewise themselves. This last circumstance is mentioned in *Lucian's* dialogue *Pro Imaginibus*. Εὖ γὰρ τὰς Αἰγυπτίους, ὅτι καὶ δεισιδαιμονεῖσθαι εἰσι πάντων, ὅμως τοῖς θεοῖς ὀνομασίην εἰς κορὸν ἐπιχρῶμεντες· σχεδὸν γοῦν τὰ πλεῖστα αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ εἶναι. Hence they had the names of *Horapollo*, *Serapion*, *Hermapion*, *Chonuphis*, *Manetho*, &c.

Αλλα, Ουα Κεβαρ Αλλα. It is found in *Constantine Porphyrogenetus*; but the passage is imperfect as he quotes it; and the right division of the two principal words as Ουακ Ουβαρ: for, as Βιργιλιος is put for *Virgilius*, Σεβηρος for *Severus*, so is the word Ουβαρ for Ουαρ, being the same as 718, fire or light. There is good reason to think that *Jehovah*, the name of the God of *Israel*, underwent a like change, and was converted to Ιωβα, *Juba*, by the natives of *Africa*, especially the *Mauritians*. They conferred it as a title of supreme honour upon their kings, whom they are said to have deified. ⁴ *Juba, Mauris volentibus, Deus est.* ⁵ *Mauri manifestè Reges colunt; nec ullo velamento hoc nomen prætexunt.* The true reading then of the above passage is undoubtedly this; *Il Alla, Alla, Ouac Oubar Alla*; that is, "god the sun is god, and the great lord "Ouar" (the same as *Orus* and *Ouranus*) "is god." The *Grecians* were persuaded that one of these was the planet *Venus* or the Moon: and ⁶ *Heliodorus* has translated this passage, and applied the latter part accordingly, making it a feminine deity; Ω Δεσποτα Ἡλιε, και Σεληνη Δεσποινα. They are the words with which *Hydaspes*, a king of the western *Ethiopians*, approaching the altar at *Meroe* to sacrifice, invokes the two deities of his country; and which would have been rendered more properly, Ω Δεσποτα Ἡλιε, και συ γ' Ουρανε Δεσποτα. *Il Alla Alla, Ouc Oubar Alla.*

That I am not mistaken, will appear from a similar passage in *Hesychius*; though it is somewhat depraved. 718, *Aur*, signifying light, was thought to be applicable to many of the celestial bodies, as I have shewn: on which account the *Greeks* interpreted the word differently. Among others, *Hesychius*

⁴ *Minuc. Felicis Octavius. pag. 25. Edit. Ouzel.*

⁵ *Cyprian. de vanit. Gentium. See also Lactant. Apologet. Cap. 24. Edit. Cerdan. Selden de Diis Syris. Syntagm. 2. Cap. 1. and Ouzelii Annadvers. ad Minuc. Fel. pag. 134.*

⁶ *Aethiopic. Lib. 10.*

sychius informs us that the planet *Jupiter* was called by the *Chaldeans* Μολοβοβαρ. Μολοβοβαρ, Διος ασηρ παρα Χαλδαιοις: which *Vossius* ⁷ alters to Μολοχ Βααλ. In the first word, or part of the word, he is certainly right: but in respect to the second, he is guilty of a bold and, at the same time, an unnecessary alteration. The text is right as it stands: and, if there be any thing seemingly uncommon, it arises from the different manner of describing the same word, 𐤓𐤏; a circumstance that must happen, when there is a variety of transcribers from one tongue to another. Οβαρ, like Ουβαρ, Αβαρις, Αβαρις, &c. relates to light, and is of the same radix: on which account it is made a representation of *Venus*, *Jupiter*, and other planets. The original reading in *Hesychius* was Μολοχ (the same as Μελεχ) ⁸Οβαρ Διος ασηρ παρα Χαλδαιοις: that

⁷ De Orig. et Progr. Idololatriæ. Lib. 2. Cap. 33:

⁸ In respect to the antient invocation of the *Arabians*, it may be worth while to attend to the different accounts of it. *Euthymius Zygabenus* says, that they worshipped the morning star, which they called *Chabar* or great: ειδωλοατρουν, προσκυνουντες τω εωσφορω αςρω, και τη Αφροδιτη, ην δη και Χαβαρ τη εαυτων επωνομαζουσι γλωττη. δηλοι δε η λεξις αυτη την μεγαλην. pag. 1. Edit. Sylburg. 1593. We learn from the author of the *Saracenica* that *Allab Allab* signifies God, that *Oua* is greater and *Coubar* great; that is, the Moon and *Venus*: Αλλα, Αλλα, ουα κβαρ Αλλα. Και το μεν Αλλα, Αλλα, ερμηνευεται ο Θεος, ο Θεος το δε ουα, μειζων το δε Κβαρ, μεγαλη, ητοι Σεληνη και Αφροδιτη. pag. 70. In the *Catechesis Saracenica*, sive *Saracenismi Anathematizatio*, it is described in this manner. Αναθεματιζω τες τω πρωινω προσκυνουτας αςρω, ηγουν τω εωσφορω και τη Αφροδιτη, ην κατα την Αραβων γλωσσαν Χαβαρ ονομαζουσι, τες εσι, μεγαλην. pag. 85. "I hold accursed all those who pay any adoration to the star of the dawn or morning, and to the goddess *Venus*, whom in the *Arabian* tongue they call *Chabar*, that is, great." So likewise says *Cedrenus*. *Constantinus Porphyrogenetus* supposes in like manner that the planet *Venus* was worshipped under the same name of *Choubar*; but makes *oua* a connecting particle only. Προσευχονται δε και εις το της Αφροδιτης αςρον, ο καλυσι Κβαρ. — το δε ουα αντι τε και συνδεσμου τιθεασι. De Administ. Imp. Cap. 14. There being such a word as *Chobar*, which signified great, these writers were led to imagine that it was necessarily the true reading here. But they did not consider the redundancy that ensued from two words of the same signification being joined together in so small a period. *Constantine Porph.* tried to rid himself of this

that is, "the lord or prince of light is a name given by the "*Chaldeans* to the planet *Jupiter*." There is little difficulty in the passage; yet it has been the cause of much perplexity.⁹

It is apparent, from what has been said, that what is termed *Ouc Oubar* by one author, is expressed *Melech*, "the lord or "prince" by another: whence we may arrive at the true meaning of this title of honour, though it be sometimes differently written. The term then *Ῥκουσσως*, which should have been *Ῥκχουσσος* or *Ουκχουσσος*, the same in analogy as *Uchorus*, signifies the lord *Cusean*: and it might easily have been mistaken for a shepherd. For, as the *Egyptians* hated the memory of the sons of *Chus*, who were of that profession; it was natural for them to call every shepherd a *Cusean*: so that a *Cusean* and a shepherd might have been taken for synonymous terms: but the true meaning is as I have represented it.

I hope I have given a satisfactory account of the *Arabian Shepherds*, who came from *Babylonia* and settled in *Egypt*; where they introduced the worship of their god *Alorus*, and whose kings were the original priests of *Vulcan*. It has always been esteemed a dark and abstruse subject: yet many evidences of this affair may be farther obtained upon a diligent enquiry, as they lie here and there scattered in the vast field of history; where the *Cuseans* are alluded to under the names of *Assyrians*, *Ethiopians*, *Chaldeans*. By this means the place they originally came from is sufficiently pointed out; though

this inconvenience, by making the first a copulative: but that was contradicting the interpretation given by every person who had treated of the subject; and at the same time did not make sense of it. In short, *Ουκ* or *Ουακ Ουβαρ* is the same in acceptation as the *Μελεχ Οβαρ* of *Hesychius*: and the true reading and interpretation may be from thence confirmed. *Ουκ Ουβαρ*, "the great *Ouranus* or *Alorus*."

⁹ See *Selden de Diis Syris*; Syntagm. i. Cap. 16. and the readings quoted by the learned *Job. Albertus* upon this word, in his edition of *Hesychius*.

though the accounts are sometimes intermixed with circumstances foreign to their story. *Eustathius* has this remarkable passage about antient *Egypt*. ¹ Εκληθη δε ποτε, κατα την ιστοριαν, ἡ τοιαυτη χωρα και Αερια, και Ποταμια, και Αιθιοπια, δια τες εκει Αιθιοπας· περι ὧν πολλοι των παλαιων ιστορικοι. The true meaning and interpretation of this may be explained in the following manner. "This antient kingdom was called of old *Aëria*:" which name it received, not, as the *Scholiast* on ²*Apollonius* surmises, παρα το μελαιναν ειναι την γην; which is a vulgar error: but from the city *Auris* and the *Auritæ*, who gave it the name *Auria*, changed by the *Greeks* to Αερια. It was called "the river country," because it was all acquired foil, and the gift of the river; ³ επικτητος τε γη, και δωρον τε ποταμῳ. Lastly, "it was called *Ethiopia*" from the *Cuseans*, who were called *Ethiopians*: the history of which people was, according to *Eustathius*, very antient. That the land of *Egypt* was not called *Aëria* from it's colour is, I think, plain from the very passage that the *Scholiast* alludes to:

⁴ Και ποταμος Τριτων καλλιρροος, ὃ ὑπο πασα
Αρδεται Ἡερη:

where the last word is a proper name, and cannot be interpreted μελαινη; as it would not be sense or grammar. It was, we find, an antient and almost original name; and mentioned as coeval with that of *Ethiopia* or *Cush*: and an early name of *Egypt* must be almost prior to *Greece* and it's language; at least, it could not be borrowed from it. It was one of the names, περι ὧν πολλοι των παλαιων ιστορικοι, "mentioned in the antient histories of "the country:" it's meaning must not be looked for in *Greece*. The *Greek* writers thought *Aur* to be the same as αηρ; and thence formed αερια, through ignorance of the true meaning of the word. The same mistake prevailed among the

Ra-

¹ Schol. in Dionys. Perieg. ad v. 232.

² Ad Lib. 1. v. 580.

³ Herodot. Lib. 2. Cap. 5.

⁴ Apollon. Rhod. Argonautic. Lib. 4. v. 269.

Romans. Hence arose the error of ⁵ *Julius Firmicus*; who, in speaking of the antient *Chaldeans* and some of the *Africans*, says that, "of all the elements, they paid the greatest deference "to the air:" *Affyrii et pars Afrorum aërem ducatum habere elementorum volunt*: wherein he was misled by the sound. It was not the air (*Aër* or *Αἴρ*), but אור, *Aur*, fire, quite a different element, that was the principal object of their worship. The people whom *Eustathius* alludes to under the name of *Ethiopians*, *Tacitus* mentions as *Affyrians*. ⁶ *Sunt qui tradant Affyrios convenas, indigum agrorum populum, parte Ægypti positos, ac mox proprias urbes Hebræasque terras et propiora Syriæ coluisse.* *Eusebius* calls them, as *Eustathius* has done, *Ethiopians* (a name I have shewn the *Cuseans* to be often denominated by;) and says they came from the *Indus*, and took up their habitation in *Egypt*: ἸΑΙΘΙΟΠΕΣ ἀπο ⁸ Ἰνδοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀναστάντες πρὸς τὴν Αἰγυπτῶ ᾠκῆσαν. There is a passage of the same author as translated by St. *Jerome* which is very short, yet contains an epitome of all I have been saying. ⁹ *Sub Acherre in Ægypto re- gnavit Telegonus, Oris Pastoris filius, septimus ab Inacho.* *Telegonus* is here put as a proper name of the prince who reigned. But it is not so: it is a *Greek* compound; and means only an alien, one born in another country, and that came from a great distance. This being settled, the purport of the history is to this effect. "When *Acherres* was king in *Egypt*, there like-
"wise reigned there a foreign prince, who was descended
"from *Orus*, and was of the shepherd race:" which *Orus* or *Alorus* was, we know, originally of *Babylonia*. So that the whole of this short account relates to the *Cuseans*. But it is said at the close that this foreigner was in descent the seventh from *Inachus*. This seems to be an interesting part of the story,

⁵ De Errore Prof. Relig. pag. 5. Edit. Argent. 1562.

⁶ *Tacit.* Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 2. *Marsham.* Sec. XIII. pag. 335.

⁷ *Eusebii Chron.* pag. 25. Edit. Scalig.

⁸ By the *Indus* they mean the east, or a place towards the east.

⁹ *Euseb. Chron.* Hieron. Interpr. pag. 14. Edit. Scalig.

story, which is here obscured. What connection can a son of *Orus* have with a king of *Argos*? What relationship could possibly subsist between them? Carry the antiquity of *Argos* as high as it will possibly bear; and make *Inachus*, if ever there was such a man, contemporary with *Abraham*: yet the arrival of the *Shepherds* in *Egypt*, which is here alluded to, must have been prior to it: at least we may venture to affirm that it could not be seven generations ¹later. But there is otherwise no correspondence between the terms: nor can they possibly relate to one another. The original history, of which the above is a bad copy, I imagine was this. *Sub Acherre in Ægyptum se recepit, et partem regionis occupavit Rex alienigena Pastor; ab Oro Babylonio ortus, et septimus a Noacho.* This last word had been probably transposed to *Onacho*; from whence the *Greeks* altered it still farther, and reduced it to a name they were acquainted with. If this be, as I imagine, the true reading, it makes the migration of the *Shepherds* to be about the time of *Serug* or *Nabor*. What is extraordinary, this is the very time when it is supposed by that very great chronologist archbishop ²*Usher* to have happened: who refers it

¹ *Ιωσηφπος, και Ιηςος, Κλημης ο ιερος γραμματευσ, Τατιανος τε, και Αφρικανος συνομολογησι κατα Ιναχου γεννηθηναι Μωσεα. Syncellus. pag. 121. Edit. Paris. 1652. 'Ο δε πρωτος Αργειων ηγειται [Ιναχος] κατα του πεμπτου μετα Σεμιραμιν Ασσυριων βασιλεα, υ και ρ υπερον ετεσιν αυτης τε και Μωσεως. Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. Cap. 9. The king who reigned after the expulsion of the first *Shepherds* was but equal in time with *Inachus*: how could a person that preceded some centuries be the seventh from him? *Amosis* laid the city *Auris* in ruins: κατεσκαψε δε την Αθουριαν (Αβεριν) Αμωσις, κατα του Αργειου γενομενος Ιναχου. Apion apud Clement. Alex. Strom. Lib. 1. pag. 320. Edit. Potter. 'Ο δε Αμωσις εγενετο κατ' Ιναχου βασιλεα. Ptol. Mendes. apud Tatianum. §. 59. Edit. Oxon. 1700. See *Theophilus ad Autolycum. Lib. 3.**

² A. M. 1920. *Ex vicinâ Arabiâ irrumpens gens eorum quos Hyc-fos, id est, Reges Pastores, Ægyptii vocabant, Memphim ceperunt &c. Ufferii Annales. pag. 3. Edit. Paris. 1673. Bishop Cumberland supposes that the *Shepherds* invaded *Egypt* A. M. 1937; in the time of the same patriarchs, according to the *Hebrew* chronology. Remarks on Sanchon. pag. 170.*

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it to the year of the world 1920, according to the *Hebrew* computation; in the hundred and first year of the life of *Serug* the seventh from *Noah*; and in the forty second of *Terah*; eighty eight years before the birth of *Abraham*. But this is a degree of exactness that I do not pretend to arrive at. Let it suffice, that near this period I imagine this event to have happened.

OF SOME
EVIDENCES
STILL REMAINING,
WHICH

Illustrate these early Occurrences.

THE lower part of *Egypt* being annually overflowed, must have been liable to some alteration in a long course of years. Among other changes that it has undergone, it has suffered some in respect to its streams and canals. One of the principal of these, if not the very chief arm of the *Nile*, was the *Canobic*, or great channel; which is in many places dry, except at the time of the inundation: by this means, all the interamnian country which we have been speaking of, the nome of *Cusban* and part of the *Heliopolitan* province, is joined to the firm land, and constitutes a portion of

of *Libya*. The *Nile*, that was first divided at *Cercafora* between *Babylon* and the pyramids, is not separated till you come eighteen miles lower: so that the extreme part of *Delta* is now formed by some broken land, that probably belonged to the inferior part of the antient *Heliopolitan* nome. By this means the extent of lower *Egypt* is in some degree abridged.

It may seem wonderful, if, after an interval of so many ages, and after such alterations, any traces should now remain of those early transactions that we have been speaking of. Yet I think some evidences may still be found amid the ruins of this antient kingdom. ¹*Marcellinus* observes that, though the *Grecians*, and particularly *Seleucus Nicator*, rebuilt many cities in *Asia*, and arbitrarily imposed names taken from their own language and country; yet the antient and original names given by the first founders of those places, and which were in the *Assyrian* tongue, were never entirely effaced. The same observation will hold good in respect to many places in *Egypt*. In a province, that seems to have been formerly part of the *Heliopolitan* nome, is a village at this day called *Cofru Coffin*, or “village of *Coffin* :” which, from it's situation and the similitude of it's name, I should think had a reference to the antient land of *Goshen*. The temple at *Heliopolis* was called *Beth-shemesb* or “house of the sun;” and *Ain-shems*, or *shemesb*, the fountain of the same. In this district there is a place remaining, called *Beer Shems*; which is of the same purport: it signifies “the well of the sun;” and is a lasting memorial of the antient religion of the place. I have mentioned that the *Arabian* nome was so denominated from

¹ *Nicator Seleucus*—abusus multitudine hominum, quam tranquillis in rebus diutius rexit, ex agrestibus habitaculis urbes construxit, multis opibus firmas et viribus: quarum ad præsens pleræque licet Græcis nominibus appellantur, quæ iisdem ad arbitrium imposita sunt conditoris, primogenia tamen nomina non amittunt, quæ eis *Assyriâ* linguâ institutores veteres indiderunt. Lib. 14. Cap. 8.

from *Cushan*, which was the same as *Goshen*. The *Seventy* calls this *Gessém* and *Gesem*; *Artapanus* ²Κεσσα and Καισα: and it is called by *St. Jerome* ³*Terra Gesen*: where each writer denominates the place by the name that it went by in his own time. I make no doubt, but in the town of ⁴*Geeza* we see the remains of the ancient *Gesen* and *Goshen*; as it has been at different times expressed. This may be proved from *Herodotus*. I have shewn that *Goshen* was the province of *Cushan*, and had a city of the same name: and that this province and city were the uppermost in lower *Egypt*, where the *Nile* divided. In this very nome *Herodotus* mentions a principal city, called by him *Cercaforum*, but by *Strabo* *Cercasoura*: which has undoubtedly suffered some change in it's orthography and pronunciation; yet it is not so far sophisticated, but that it's true etymology may be arrived at. The original name was *Caer Cush Aur*, "the *Arabian* city *Aur*:" the last term was the true name of the place, which was the antient city of *Orus*: the other, *Carcusha*, as well as *Phaccusa* (by which it is called by *Ptolemy*) being accidental terms, and gentile marks of distinction; the one given to distinguish it's inhabitants, the other to denote it's situation. *Carcusa* is therefore no more than the *Cuséan* city, as *Carour* is the city of *Ur* or fire, by which it was sometimes called. *Car* or *Caer*, קר, *Kir*, in most of the oriental languages signifies a city or fortress; as appears in *Carchemish*, *Carthaida*, *Carteia*, *Carnaim*: and, among the *Britons* of *Phenician* extraction, in
Car-

² Πρωτον μεν την Κεσσαν οικοδομησαι. Apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 27. Μετα δε ταυτα παραγενεσθαι του τε πατερα και της αδελφης κομιζοντας πολλην υπαρξιν, και κατοικισθηναι εν τη πολει Καισαν. Ibid. Lib. 9. Cap. 23. *Constantine Manassès* calls it *Gosém*: Εν γη Γοσεμ οικιζεται, χωρη της Αραβιας. pag. 40. Edit. Meurs.

³ Vol. 1. pag. 49. Edit. Benedict. Paris. 1693. In the book of *Judith* of the *Vulgate* translation Chap. 1. v. 9. it is called *Jesse*.

⁴ It is called *Gizéy* by *Vansleb*, *Gize* by *Dr. Pocock*, *Geeza* by *Shaw*, *Cbisi* by *Egmont* and *Heyman*; and is the *Algize* of the *Nubian* geographer.

Carlisle, Caerdiff, Caerphilly, Caernarvon, and Caer-uriah in *Cornwall*. *Herodotus* is very particular in his description of *Cercaforum*, which he mentions as situated at the very extreme point of *Delta*; ⁵ παρα το οξυ τε Δελτα, και παρα Κερκασωρον πολιν. And in another place he describes it still more exactly, by saying that it was at the point where the *Nile* was first divided; ⁶ μεχρι Κερκασωρα πολιος, κατ' ην σχιζεται ο Νειλος, ες το Πηλεσιον ρεων και ες Κανωβον. This is the exact situation of *Geeza*; which stands overagainst the pyramids (that are called from thence the pyramids of ⁷*Geeza*) at the extreme part of *Delta*, in the antient *Cusean* province, where the *Nile* was of old divided into it's two principal streams. If then there was no similitude of sound remaining, and the name had been totally changed or obliterated; yet the identity of the two places might be indisputably ascertained.

It is true, the town of *Geeza*, which I suppose to be situated at the extremity of an island, is by later writers mentioned as upon the western bank of the *Nile*; the *Canobic* branch, which once separated it from *Lybia*, being much diminished, and sometimes dried up. But ⁸*Dr. Pocock* still places it in an island; and at the vertex, as it stood of old. Whether this be the exact truth, I do not know; as it does not appear like an island in the account of that curious traveller ⁹*Norden*. But it is a point of no great consequence: for while the pyramids remain on one side, and the hill of *Arabia* on the other, whatever lay in a 'line with these may easily be known.

They

⁵ Lib. 2. Cap. 97.

⁶ Lib. 2. Cap. 15.

⁷ "Chi vuol vedere le Piramidi, bisogna che passi il fiume, et vada in un burgo, che gia fu Citta rimpetto al Cairo vecchio, hoggi nominato Geza." Viaggi di Bremond. In Roma; 1679.

⁸ Travels. Vol. 1. Plate. 7.

⁹ Voyage d' Egypte et de Nubie par F. Louis Norden. Fol. Vol. 1. Planche 17.

¹ See *Pocock's* large Map of *Egypt*, which is far preferable to the maps of *Norden*.

They are sure and lasting landmarks; and nearly between these was the apex of lower *Egypt*, and the city *Cercaforum*. So that, if not only the *Canobic* branch, but the *Nile* itself was to fail, yet the antient situation of the places, which I have been speaking of, might by this line of direction be made out. The great *Æstuary*, between the *Isle of Thanet*² and the main land, is in many places reduced to a ditch: yet not only the island, but the towns upon it, together with those that they correspond to of antient date, are known and described: nor has any obscurity ensued.

I think then, we may rest satisfied that the province of *Cushan* was the land of *Goshen*; and that the chief city in that land was the *Carcusha* of the antients, the *Cæsa* of *Artapanus*, and the *Geeza* of the moderns. *Cercaforum* or *Cercasoura* was called *Car Cusb Aur*, the city *Ur* of the *Arabians*; just as the sister city was called קר אור כשדים *Car Aur Casdim*, the city *Ur* of the *Chaldees*. *Ptolemy* indeed calls *Phaccusa* the metropolis of the *Arabian* nome: but *Strabo*, who is in this point very particular and exact, makes *Phaccusa* only a village; and places it very properly upon the *Arabian* canal, to which it's name alludes, and on the eastern side of the *Nile*. There is therefore reason to think, that the province of which we have been speaking was termed simply *Cusb* and *Cushan*, without the word *Phacat*, to which it had no relation: and the chief city was called *Cushan Aur*, as I have before shewn. I am confirmed in my opinion by the testimony of the ancient historian *Ephorus*, who mentioned this city by that name: Κασσανωρος, πολις Αιγυπτια, ἥς μεμνηται Εφορος. *Goltzius* has a coin of *Vespasian* with an inscription to the same purpose, ΚΑΣΣΑΝΩΡΙΤΩΝ. And *Stephanus Byzantinus*, from whom this testimony of *Ephorus* is taken, adds to the above, το εθνικον Κασσανωριτης; "the name of the people is *Cassanorita*." Who

² See *Batteley's Antiquitates Rutupinæ*.

Who can, after this, doubt whether the *Aurita* of *Egypt* were *Cuseans*?

Some of the *Grecians*, who first visited *Egypt*, spoke of the city *Cercaforum* as the city of *Orus*. But others, instead of expressing it $\Omega\rho\alpha$ or $\Omega\rho\omega\nu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\nu$, altered it to $\text{'}\text{Η}\rho\omega\omega\nu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\nu$. The *Seventy* therefore, when they say that ³ *Joseph* went up to meet his father, and render what is in the original *Goshen* by $\text{'}\text{Η}\rho\omega\omega\nu\ \pi\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma$ or *Heroum*, misinterpret the place that they are referred to; which was not *Heroopolis* on the *Red Sea*, but the city of *Orus* in *Egypt*. So that the place which is really alluded to by them, and that which I treat of, are the same; though they have changed the name, and by that means been the authors of much confusion. Just above the town of *Geeza* is a little island called *Aurea*; which certainly is not a name of *Roman* original, though at first sight there may be some appearance of it. It is bounded by a canal called *Calig Al Cusherah*; which is undoubtedly a name of antient date, and witnesses the true etymology of the other. The *Romans*, finding the place called *Aur* and *Aurah*, imitated the *Greeks* in adapting it to their own language; and called this island and the adjacent country *Aurea*. The later *Arabians*, who succeeded in these parts, have been misled by this; and given the island the name of ⁴ *Guzarat* or *Gieziret Edahab*, "the golden island." But the situation of this place, and the name of the canal, *Al Cussharah*⁵ (both near the point where stood the ancient *Aur*) manifestly prove that they have been esteemed appendages to that antient city, and have received their names from it. Indeed, the whole country where the *Cuseans* principally resided was called *Aurah*, by the *Greeks* changed to *Aëria*: of which there are many tokens.

³ *Gen.* 46. v. 29.

⁴ *Norden's Travels.* Vol. 2

⁵ *Pocock's large map of Egypt.*

tokens. The pyramids near *Faiume* are called the pyramids of ⁶*Havara*; which is the same word, though a little diversified. Such variations must happen in a long course of years. The modern *Greeks*, who pronounce *αυτος*, *αφτος*, and *aurum*, *avarum*, would call *Aurah*, *Avara* at this day. These are wonderful memorials of former times; and certainly relate to the histories which I have been treating of; to occurrences, that happened in the most early ages: such as no length of time has been able to cancel.

There are many places to be met with, which terminate in *Ur* and *Our*; all manifestly denominated from the same element that the *Carour* of the *Cuseans* was derived from; as may be proved from their history and situation: whence it is plain that I am not wrong in the etymology of that place. The city that was the boundary of *Phrygia* and *Caria* had a name of the like purport; which was given to it on account of its situation. For it was built in a most inflammable and sulphureous soil, and in the neighbourhood of hot fountains; so that every object betokened fire. It was called *Carour* and *Caroura*; and the country all around termed *Κεκαυμενη* or *burnt*. ⁷ Καρουρα δε οριον εστι της Φρυγιας και της Καριας· κωμη δ' εστιν αυτη πανδοχεια εχουσα, και ζεσων υδατων εκβολας·—Σχεδον δε τοι ευσεισος εστι και πασα η περι τον Μαιανδρον χωρα, και υπονομος πυρι τε και υδατι μεχρι της μεσογαίας·—Και δη και τα περι τον Τυφωνα παθη ενταυθα μυθευσσι, και της Αριμης, και την Κατακεκαυμενην ταυτην ειναι φασιν. There was likewise a temple of the same name in the vicinity of the above mentioned city; and denominated from the same circumstances. ⁸ Μεταξυ δε της Λαοδικείας και των Καρουρων ιερον εστι Μηνος, Καρου (Καρουρ) καλεμενον, τιμωμενον αξιολογως. It was called the temple of *Menes*; and was probably built by some of *Egyptian* race, that settled here: who came either from *Col-*
chis

⁶ *Vansleb's State of Egypt.*

⁷ *Strabo*. Vol. 2. pag. 867. 869.

⁸ *Strabo*. Ibid.

chis or *Cappadocia*, where were the two most antient colonies from that country. The temple was called *Carour*: and it was probably erected in honour of the first king of *Egypt*, who was called by that name, and in memory of the city that we have been treating of. There was another city of lower *Egypt* towards the sea, that was likewise called *Carour*; and is mentioned in the *Notitia Ecclesiastica*: by some it was termed *Achoris*.

Such are the evidences of the *Cuseans* having resided in *Egypt*; who left behind them traces, that are not to this day erased. In the antient histories and monuments they occur very frequently; so that *Scaliger* might well say, *9 Multa Arabica in veteribus monumentis Ægyptiacis observavimus; quæ nobis ignota quærant studiosi.*

9 Animadv. in Euseb. Chron.

SOME

SOME
OBJECTIONS ANSWERED;

AND OTHER
PROOFS PRODUCED:

Wherein is farther shewn,

That the ARABIAN SHEPHERDS were distinct from the
ISRAELITES, and prior to them.

NO history has been esteemed more difficult to settle than that of the *Arabian Pastors*: which difficulty has arisen from not considering that they were a twofold race, and essentially different in almost every circumstance. When the *Arabians* came into *Egypt*, they are said to have been 240000 in number: the *Israelites* were but seventy persons. The former took possession by force: the latter were invited; and had all they possessed granted to them. The one held the people in slavery: the others were themselves enslaved. The *Arabians* were driven out of the land: the *Israelites* were not suffered to depart. Notwithstanding this, *Josephus* among the antients, and ¹*Witsius*, *Perizonius* and others among the
moderns,

¹ *Hermanni Witsii Ægyptiaca*. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. He imagines that the first *Shepherds* were *Abraham* and his retinue; and the sons of *Israel* the second.

moderns, think that this history relates to the *Israelites* only. *Manetho*, who is the first that speaks of these *Shepherds*, and from whom *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus* have chiefly borrowed what they produce, plainly distinguishes between them. *Josephus*, and those of his opinion, have no other way to set this evidence aside, but by supposing that *Manetho* had an utter aversion to the *Jews*, and would not mention any thing in their favour: a supposition so ill grounded, that it is wonderful how persons of any reflection could advance it. For what is it that *Manetho* can be supposed to have suppressed out of prejudice? If we were to allow that the *Israelites* were the *Shepherds* who got the sovereignty in *Egypt*; what would be their history? They were in the land of *Canaan* during a famine, and in very great distress: but were invited into *Egypt*, where their wants were supplied: and they were permitted to settle in the very best of the country, and had part of it assigned them for a possession. As they increased in number, they forgot their obligations: and, rising in arms against their benefactors, subdued them by force; and for a great while ruled tyrannically over them; burning their temples and cities, and overturning their altars; till, by a reverse of fortune, they were defeated in their turn, and at last driven out of the country. What is there in all this detail, that *Manetho* could suppress out of ill will to the *Jews*? There is not a circumstance, but an enemy would enlarge upon and aggravate. All this scandal *Josephus* would gladly entail upon the memory of his forefathers; merely for this empty gratification, that it might be said, that they once bore rule in *Egypt*; ² ὅτι κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐδυναστεύσαν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι. If this history had really related to the *Israelites*, I do not see what could have hindered *Manetho* from prefixing their name to it: I am sure he could not omit it out of prejudice. The *Royal Shepherds* were certainly a distinct people from the *Israel-*
rael-

² Contra Apion. Lib. 1. §. 25.

raelites; and likewise prior in time. This I have already shewn: and it will farther appear from the disgust the *Egyptians* had entertained for people of that profession, when the *Israelites* went first into that country. "Every shepherd was an abomination to the *Egyptians*." It was not a bare dislike, but an abhorrence; which must have arisen in great measure from the cruel treatment the *Egyptians* had experienced. Some indeed, among whom is *Theodoret*, imagine that their antipathy was owing to the different customs of the two nations: the *Shepherds* occupation being to rear and tend sheep, which they sacrificed and fed on; while the *Egyptians* abstained from this food, and held it in abhorrence. But this custom of abstinence, if ever it existed, was never universal. The people of *Thebes* three hundred and fifty miles above *Delta* held it criminal to sacrifice, and perhaps, to taste the flesh of sheep: but others made no scruple to feed on it, particularly the *Mendesians*; and they on the other hand abstained from goats. 3 Ὅσοι μὲν δὴ Δίος Θηβαιεῖς ἰδρυνταὶ ἱρόν, ἢ νομῆ τε Θηβαιεῖς εἰσι, οὗτοι μὲν νῦν πάντες οἷων ἀπεχομένοι, αἰγὰς θύουσι. — Ὅσοι δὲ τε Μενδητὸς ἐκτινταὶ ἱρόν, ἢ νομῆ τε Μενδησιεῖς εἰσι, οὗτοι δὲ αἰγῶν ἀπεχομένοι οἷς θύουσι. This custom therefore was local and partial, and could never be the cause of universal abhorrence. It is contrary to the account given us by *Diodorus Siculus*; who speaks of the fertility of their meadows, and the manner of their managing them; together with the numerous flocks, of which they were possessed. He mentions that "their sheep were wonderfully fruitful; that they had young twice in a year, and were shorn as often in that season." 4 Οἱ δὲ χερσευεῖν εἰσάντες τὴν ἐπικεκλυσμένην χώραν, καὶ τοῖς ποιμνίοις ἀνέντες μηλοβοτόν, διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῆς νομῆς, δις τεκοντα καὶ δις ἀποκαρεντα τὰ πρόβατα καρπύονται. And, in another place, describing the early ages and the customs of the first inhabitants of the coun-

3 *Herod. Lib. 2. Cap. 42.*

4 *Lib. 1. pag. 23.*

country, he says that "they fed upon some sort of cattle,
 "and cloathed themselves with their skins:" *ἔφαγον δὲ καὶ
 τῶν βοοκημημάτων ἐνία σαρκοφάγειν, καὶ ταῖς δόρσις τῶν κατορθομένων
 ἐσθύντη χροσδαί.* What they fed upon, and what they abstained
 from, is pretty plain from the latter part: they fed upon
 oxen and sheep, whose skins are best adapted for cloathing:
 and they abstained from horses and camels, which are included
 in the term *βοοκημηματα*. It is moreover expressly contrary to
 the account of *Moses*: where *Pharaoh*, hearing that the sons of
Israel were shepherds, not only permits them to bring their
 flocks and herds; but ⁶ appoints them to take care of his
 own cattle, wherein his flocks were undoubtedly included.
 And, to put the matter out of all doubt, the flocks of the
Egyptians, as well as their herds, are expressly mentioned by
Moses; where he speaks of the exchange that the people made
 for corn in the height of the famine. ⁷ "And *Joseph* said,
 "Give your cattle; and I will give you for your cattle, if
 "money fail. And they brought their cattle to *Joseph*: and
 "*Joseph* gave them bread in exchange for horses, and for the
 "FLOCKS, and for the cattle of the herds and for the asses."
 To what purpose could they rear so many sheep, if they never
 fed upon them? *Grotius* supposes for their wool. But is it
 possible that the wool only, or the milk, would answer the
 trouble and expence of keeping such numerous flocks, that
 each year more than doubled their number? And can any
 account be given of what was done with the supernumeraries?
 For, without thinning them, the land, fruitful as it was and
 extensive, would not have sufficed for pasturage. The skins
 they could not have to make use of, till the animal died: and
 they then must have been of no service. Yet the *Egyptians*
 are supposed to have made use of their skins. Without all
 doubt

⁵ Lib. 1. pag. 28.

⁶ Gen. 47. v. 6.

⁷ Gen. 47. v. 16.

doubt they fed upon sheep, as all other nations did. It cannot be supposed, if the *Egyptians* disliked sheep and abhorred shepherds, that they would have been troubled with either of them. *Diodorus*, indeed, says that sheep were held sacred on account of their great utility: but it does not follow that the *Egyptians* never fed upon them. It is hard to pronounce what animals were not sacred among this people; and as difficult to determine what was the consequence of their being esteemed so. The words of *Diodorus* are as follow. . . ⁸ Τα δε

προβατα δις μεν τικτειν, και τοις εριοις την σκεπην αμα και την ευ-
σχημοσυνην περιποιειν τω δε γαλακτι και τω τυρω τροφας παρεχεσθαι
προσηνεις αμα και δαψιλεις. On these accounts they were held

sacred. But this was common to animals that they fed upon.⁹

Male cattle were sacred to *Eraphus*. ¹ Βες τις ερσενας τε

επαφει ειναι νομιζουσι: yet they were universally eaten: ² Τες

μεν νυν καθαρες βες τις ερσενας, και τις μοσχες οι παντες Αιγυπτιοι

θυουσι. And, as it was an heartening food, the foldiers were

allowed two pounds a day: ³ τετοισι δ' ων ταδε παρεξ των αρρεων

αλλα εδιδото επ' ημερη εκαση' οωτε σιτε σαρμος πεντε μνεαι εκασω,

κρεων βοειων δυο μνεαι, οινε τεσσερες αρυσηρες. So that this anti-

pathy could not proceed from any difference in diet; for no

difference is discernable. Care must therefore be taken, that

we do not confound what *Herodotus* says about things sacri-

ficed by the *Egyptians*, with the things that were ordinarily

eaten by them: for there were many species of food that

they never offered to the gods, which they made no scruple

to feed upon; otherwise they must have starved. We are

told by *Alexander Sardus* ⁴ that they originally used no other

offer-

⁸ Lib. 1. pag. 54.

⁹ Τινα μεν γαρ των ζων απαντες κοινη τιμωσιν Αιγυπτιοι, καθαπερ των πεζων
μεν τρια, βην, κυνα, αιλαρον. *Strab.* Vol. 2. pag. 1166.

¹ *Herodot.* Lib. 2. Cap. 38.

² *Ibid.* Lib. 2. Cap. 41.

³ *Ibid.* Lib. 2. Cap. 168.

⁴ Lib. 3. Cap. 15.

offerings in their temples than frankincense and libations, attended with suitable thanks and praises: but no body can suppose that in these consisted their diet. The priests were particularly abstemious: yet, from what they were allowed, we may form some judgment of what was permitted to the people, who were under less restraint. *Chæremo* the stoic, as we learn from ⁵*Porphyry*, gave this account of their food, that it was very simple and plain, διαίτα δε λιτή και ἀφελής; that they tasted no wine, and abstained from all fish, και τετραποδων, ὅσα μωνυχὰ η πολυσχιδῆ, η μη ⁶ (εἰ μη) κερασφόρα πτηνῶν δε ὅσα σαρκοφάγα. “They abstained from all fourfooted animals, that “were either solid-hoofed, or that divided the foot, unless “they were of the horned species:” that is, they abstained from all quadrupeds, but sheep and oxen; “and all carnivorous birds.” And even among these they had some exceptions: the flesh of a cow or heifer they never could be induced to taste: ⁷Παρα γέν Αἰγυπτίοις και Φοινίξι θάπτουν αὐ τῆς ἀνθρωπείων κρέων γεύσασθαι, η θηλείας βοός. *Plutarch* however does not allow the priests the latitude I have mentioned; but says that they lay under an interdict in respect to sheep: ⁸παραιτεῖσθαι—και των κρέων τα μηλεία. Supposing this to be as *Plutarch* represents it; we plainly learn from it, that this practice of abstinence did not reach to the common people; for he would not have mentioned a circumstance as peculiar to the priesthood, if it had prevailed universally.

We

⁵ De Abstin. Lib. 4.

⁶ In the original it is thus: “They abstained from all quadrupeds, that “were either of a solid hoof, or that divided the foot, or that had not “horns:” but this includes all fourfooted beasts. Here is a seeming exception made, and now allowance given: a remainder supposed, where there is nothing left. It should therefore be εἰ μη, “unless they “were horned.” By this means hogs and camels were excluded.

⁷ *Porphyry*. de Abstin. Lib. 2.

⁸ De Isid. et Osir.

We find then, that what the *Egyptians* abstained from in those early times, was not the eating sheep or oxen, but the using them for sacrifice. Ὁ Μαθου δ' αν τις επιβλεψας τις λογιω-
 τατες παντων Αιγυπτιας, οἱ τοσστον απειχον τε Φονευσεν τε των
 λοιπων ζων, ωςε τας τετων εικονας μιμηματα των θεων εποιαντο·
 —απ' αρχης μεν γαρ αι των καρπων εγινοντο τοις θεοις θυσιαι.
 1 Τετρα μεν τοινυν και νεωτατη η δια των ζων θυσια. In
 short, they shed no blood in their temples, nor brought
 victims to their altars. And, though *Herodotus* does make
 mention of bloody sacrifices in his time; yet it was not
 so of old. And, even when he wrote, they were not
 universal. For when, in the time of the *Ptolemies*, the *E-*
gyptians were in some parts obliged to admit *Saturn* and *Sera-*
pis as gods; 2 *Ita tamen imperio paruerunt, ut non omnino reli-*
gionis suæ observata confunderent. Nam quia nunquam fas fuit
Ægyptiis pecudibus et sanguine, sed precibus et thure solo pla-
care Deos, his autem duobus advenis hostiæ erant ex more maetan-
dæ; fana eorum extra pomærium locaverunt; ut et illi sacrificii
solennis sibi cruore colerentur, nec tamen urbana templa pecudum
morte polluerentur. The situation of this temple, where *Se-*
rapis was worshipped was in the *Nitriotic* nome, as we learn
 from *Strabo*. He tells us, conformably to what is said above,
 that this was the only place in *Egypt* where a sheep was sacri-
 ficed. 3 Τιμαται δ' ενταυθα ο Σαραπισ και παρα μονοις τετοις θυεται
 εν Αιγυπτω προβατον. When *Pharaoh* therefore, to prevent the
 children of *Israel* from going three days journey into the wil-
 derness, tells *Moses*, that they may sacrifice to their God in
 Egypt;

9 *Porphyr.* de Abstin. Lib. 2.

1 Ibid. *Prisci homines soli et sideribus, quos existimabant Deos, herbam cum foliis et radice comburebant: mittebant etiam απαρχας, frugum primi-
 tias; nam animalia occidere nefas arbitrabantur. Et dicebat Pythagoras se aliquando concilio Deorum interfuisse; eosque didicisse Ægyptiorum sacrificia probare, quæ libationibus constant, thure et laudibus: non placere animantium cædes.* *Alex. Sard.* Lib. 3. Cap. 15. See *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

2 *Macrob.* Saturnal. Lib. 1. Cap. 7.

3 Vol. 2. pag. 1155.

Egypt; he is answered, ⁴ "It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the *Egyptians* to the Lord our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the *Egyptians* before their eyes, and will they not stone us?" The abomination was a sacrifice of blood: which offering was so offensive to the *Egyptians*, that the *Israelites*, during their sojournment, do not appear to have once ventured to sacrifice after the custom of their fathers. They seem to have been under a prohibition from the princes of the country: as we may infer from the repeated requests of *Moses*; who, unless he went three days journey into the wilderness, did not think it safe to offer a burnt-offering to the Lord. In respect to sacrifices in those early times, it was usual for people of every profession to make some returns to the gods for the benefits they enjoyed. This acknowledgement was generally made out of the increase, that they were particularly blessed with. Among the *Egyptians* it consisted originally in handfuls of corn, grass, and of the lotus, with other fruits of the earth. In process of time they added myrrh, frankincense, and casia for the service of the altar. ⁵ Such were the offerings of the antient *Egyptians*. On the other hand, the shepherd's increase was from the fold only; and his offerings were the firstlings of his flock. This made the *Egyptians* dislike shepherds; not their occupation; for nothing was more innocent or necessary. Besides, they had flocks of their own, and consequently people to tend them. But they disliked foreign ⁶ shepherds on account of their different rites and customs: which hatred must have arisen from an intimate intercourse: for we do not abominate what we are little ac-

⁴ *Exod.* 8. v. 26.

⁵ Ου σμυρνης, καὶ κασιᾶς, καὶ λιβανῶν κροκῶ μιχθεντων ἀπαρχᾶς· πολλὰ γὰρ γενεαὶς ὕστερα παρειληφθῆ ταῦτα.—οὐ ταῦτων ἐθνῶν πρότερον, ἀλλὰ χλοῆς. *Porph. de Abstin.* Lib. 2.

⁶ *Scaliger* differs from me in opinion about the *Shepherds of Egypt*. See *Animadvers.* in *Euseb. Chron.* pag. 18.

acquainted with. We may dislike at a distance, and disapprove : but this was a total abhorrence. It was a general and national disgust, to promote which, many things must have concurred. In the first place, the *Egyptians* were a fastidious people from the beginning ; and held every nation but their own in low esteem. ⁷ Βαρβαρὺς δὲ πάντας οἱ Αἰγυπτίαι καλεῖσιν τὰς μὴ σφισι ὁμογλωσσας. This contempt was carried into a disgust by the contrariety in their religious customs : and this still heightened and embittered by the tyranny of the *Pastor Kings*, and the cruel usage that the *Egyptians* experienced from them ; particularly, when they broke down the shrines of their gods, and overturned their altars. Hence arose that fixed hatred we have been speaking of ; which was prior to the coming of the *Israelites*. “ For every shepherd “ was an abomination to the *Egyptians*,” before they knew *Joseph* : the reigns therefore of the *Cusean* kings were antecedent likewise.

⁷ *Herod.* Lib. 2. Cap. 158. See also Lib. 2. Cap. 41. — *Gen.* 43. v. 32. “ And they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the *Egyptians* that did eat with him, by themselves : “ because the *Egyptians* might not eat bread with the *Hebrews* ; for that “ is an abomination unto the *Egyptians*.” — not the eating bread, but the eating it with the *Hebrews*.

of different governments. Strabo says, that there were many kings in Egypt in the time of Moses: "τοιαύτα γὰρ τότε τὰς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύοντες." "One of the principal of which was Ramses, who built the temple at Heliopolis." But both Ramses and the temple at Heliopolis were built before the time he speaks of: and

STATE OF EGYPT

And there is reason to think that the variety of governments in Egypt was in great measure abolished by Ramses, and the better part of the nation

DEPARTURE

OF THE

ARABIAN SHEPHERDS.

IN these early times there were no large monarchies formed. The *Assyrian* and *Babylonish* empires, as they are termed, were distinct, and in reality of small extent. All countries seem to have been divided into petty¹ principalities. Every city for the most part had it's particular king. A powerful enemy had forced *Egypt* to unite itself under one head: but that grievance being removed, the people of that country seem to have soon lapsed again into a state of independency. At least they were divided; and under the jurisdiction of

¹ *Quemadmodum Ægyptus, priscis hisce temporibus, inter diversos distributa est regulos, ita etiam in Asiâ regna vetustissima sunt angustissima.*—*Urbes singulæ suos habebant τοῦταρχας.* Marsham. Canon Chron. Sec. V. pag. 76.

of different governours, *Artapanus* says, that there were many kings in *Egypt* in the time of *Moses*: ²πολλες γαρ τότε της Αιγυπτου βασιλευειν. "One of the principal of which was "*Palmanoth*, who built *Kessa* or *Goshen*, and the temple at "*Heliopolis*." But both *Goshen* that he alludes to, and the temple at *Heliopolis* were built before the time he speaks of: and *Palmanoth*, or, as his true name was, *Phamenoth*, the *Amenophis* of the *Greeks*, reigned according to *Manetho* before *Moses*; being the prince who first began to distress the *Israelites*, when as yet *Moses* was not born. And there is reason to think that the variety of governments in *Egypt* was in great measure abolished by *Joseph*, and the better part of the nation reduced under one king. This leads me to consider a passage in Scripture, which the enemies of revelation have made a bad use of; and which in general has not been understood. The part that I allude to is in the 47th chapter of *Genesis*; where, in the time of the famine, *Joseph* is said to have purchased the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*. I have mentioned before, that this country was divided into many districts and provinces called by the natives *Tabir*, but by the *Greeks* Νομοι: which were originally independent of each other. We read of *Theban*, *Memphitic*, *Diospolite*, *Tanite*, *Bubastite* and other ⁴kings; whose reigns are not to be estimated by a series in succession, but by synchronisms, as *Marsham* and others have observed. The land must necessarily have been weakened by this division of the supreme power: and it probably was the reason that the *Cuseans* got such easy footing, and

² *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 27.*

³ He certainly confounds the story of *Joseph* with that of *Moses*, as *Manetho* and others had done before. *Scaliger*, though it makes against his opinion, is obliged to allow that *Egypt* originally was under the dominion of different princes at the same time: *patet diversos Reges eodem tempore in Ægypto in diversis partibus imperium obtinuisse.* *Isagog. Chron. Can. pag. 312.*

⁴ See *Marsham's πολυκοιρανι Ægypti* in *Canon. Chronic. Secul. XVI. pag. 470.*

and maintained themselves so long. *Joseph* therefore, when he came to have full authority under *Pharaoh*, seems to have immediately entertained a view of uniting the whole nation. And as there was no other government, that we know of, in those times but that of monarchy, he was resolved to establish it universally through the land; and make every province subservient to one head. *Artapanus* speaks of such an establishment effected; and says the *Israelitish* chief took great pains to bring it about, in favour of the prince he was concerned with: for before this the populace raised and depressed kings at their pleasure. ⁵ Ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ποιῆσαι χάριν τῇ τῇ μοναρχίαν βεβαίαν τῷ Χενεφρη διαφυλάξαι· προτερον γὰρ αδιατακτὺς οντας τὰς οχλὰς, ποτε μὲν ἐκβαλλεῖν, ποτε δὲ καθίστασθαι βασιλεῖς. But he attributes this to *Moses* instead of ⁶ *Joseph*. Now there is reason to think that *Moses* was very little engaged in the business of the nation: he seems to have sacrificed all views that way: and, throughout the whole account that he gives of himself, he appears in a private capacity; having renounced the advantages that might have accrued by adoption, and returned to the stock of his fathers. But *Joseph*, we know, was invested with high power. The management of the whole realm was intrusted to him: ⁷ “only in the throne,” says *Pharaoh*, “will I be greater than thou.” It was *Joseph* therefore that brought about this weighty affair. He availed himself, during the famine, of the necessities of the people; and

⁵ Apud *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 27.

⁶ The history of these two great men is often confounded; not only by *Pagan* writers, but, what is extraordinary, even by *Christians*. The author of the *Alexandrine Chronicle* gives the name of *Sophom Phaneas* or *Zaphnab Paaneab* to *Moses*, which is well known from *Gen.* 41. v. 45. to belong only to *Joseph*; and makes a wrong application of the purport of it. Τὸν Μωϋσῃν, μετὰ τὸ ἐπαγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ τὰς πλῆγας, οἱ Αἰγυπτιοὶ Ψομ-δομ-Φαν-χρη προσηγορεύσαν, ὃ ἐρμηνεύεται, ὡς ἀπεκαλυφθῇ μελλόν. pag. 178. Edit. Rader. *Chæremo* is guilty of the same confusion of these two persons; as is *Manetho* likewise.

⁷ *Gen.* 41. v. 40.

and made them purchase their subsistence at the price of their independency. ⁸ "Wherefore shall we die," say they, "before thine eyes, both we and our land? buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto *Pharaoh*: and give us seed, that we may live, and not die, that the land be not desolate. And *Joseph* bought all the land of *Egypt* for *Pharaoh*:—and as for the people, he removed them to cities from one end of the borders of *Egypt*, even to the other end thereof." And, to maintain the supreme authority in one person for the future, he laid them all under an obligation, when he gave them seed for their lands, that one fifth part of the produce should be ⁹*Pharaoh's*. This was a noble and salutary scheme, carried on with great policy and justice; which was the foundation both of the grandeur and the perpetuity of the *Egyptian* name. There were no means of effecting this union, but those that were made use of; which were executed with great forecast and sagacity. The state of the *Egyptians* at that time may be known from the words before quoted: "buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be 'servants' i. e. amenable, "to *Pharaoh*." It seems plain that this people must have been before independent, and their lands not liable to fine or taxation. They suffered therefore no injury from what was enjoined them; being only reduced, from a state of misrule, to be on the same level as people of all other nations were, that lived in obedience to a king: for before they were licentious and lawless. This distribution of land in *Egypt*, and the happy

⁸ *Gen.* 47. v. 19, &c.

⁹ Hence we find that, though there were several princes in *Egypt*, yet there was one of superior power, called *Pharaoh*; to whom several princes paid more or less homage: but many were independent. *Και πολλων βασιλεων ηγουμενων, Παλμανωθης εβασιλευσε των περι Ηλιωπολιν τοπων.* Chron. Pasch. pag. 63. The chief monarch lived near *Heliopolis*, in the vicinity of *Goshen*.

¹ "Am not I a *Philistine*, and ye servants to *Saul*?" that is, subjects. *1 Sam.* 17. v. 8.

happy consequences that ensued upon it, are mentioned by the above cited author; who tells us that *Joseph* taught them to separate their fields, and to distinguish them by proper boundaries; which put an end to the many feuds and acts of violence that had before subsisted among them. ² Και προτερον

ατακτως των Αιγυπτίων γεωμορεντων, δια το την χωραν αδιαιρετον ειναι, και των ελασσονων υπο των κρεισσονων αδικουμενων· τειτον [Ιωσηφ] πρωτον την τε γην διελειν, και οροις διασημηνασθαι, και την πολλην χερσευομενην γεωργησιμον αποτελεσαι, και τινας των αρων τοις ιερευσιν αποκληρωσαι. By this compromise and establishment, which

Joseph so happily enacted, the king was invested with the property of the land: but four parts out of five of the produce was secured to the people. All this was done for the general good,

² *Artapanus* apud *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 23. This could not have been effected by *Joseph*, if the kingdom had been still in a dis-united state: his influence could not have reached "from one end of the " borders of *Egypt* even to the other end thereof." He therefore had reduced the people under one monarchy: and it is from hence plain that *Artapanus* has mixed the accounts of two different persons; and has, in the former passage, attributed to *Moses* what relates only to *Joseph*. He moreover says, that *Joseph* appointed a particular portion of land for the priests: but, according to *Moses*, he meddled not with their lands: nor do they seem to be considerable: for the priests were dependent on the king, and "had a portion assigned them of *Pharaoh*, and did eat their " portion which *Pharaoh* gave them; wherefore they sold not their " lands.—The land of the priests only became not *Pharaoh's*." *Gen.* 47. v. 22, &c. In after times the lands of the soldiers, as well as those of the priests, were held under peculiar exemptions: the soldiers had assigned them each man 12 arouræ, i. e. a square of 100 *Egyptian* cubits every way. Γερα δε σφι [Καλασυριοις] ην ταδε εξαιρεσημενα μανοισι Αιγυπτίων παρεξ των ιρων· αρραι εξαιρετοι δυωδεκα εκασω ατελεες· η δε αρρα εκατον ωηχεων εστι Αιγυπτίων παντη. Ο δε Αιγυπτιος ωηχος τυγχανει ισος εων τω Σαμω. *Herod.* Lib. 2. Cap. 168. 12 arouræ are equal to 9 acres and 165 millesimals. See *Bp. Cumberland* on *Jewish* measures and weights. pag. 16. Some interpret this passage (*Gen.* 47. v. 22.) in a different manner: Εισι δε υτοι παντων τε ατελεις, και δευτερευοντες μετα του βασιλεα ταις δε δοξαις και ταις εξουσιας: *Diod. Sic.* of the *Egyptian* priests, Lib. 1. pag. 46. Αλλ' εν γε Αιγυπτιοι ων νυν δη εμνησθην, κατα τας θρησκειας τας σφων εσκεδανται. *Clement. Alex.* Cohort. ad Gentes. Vol. 1. pag. 33. Edit. Potter. Η δε δη εξαιρεσις των ιρων, και η κανυσις, αλλη περι αλλο ιρον σφι κατεστηκε. *Herod.* Lib. 2. Cap. 40.

good, to which each particular in his turn was obliged to contribute. And this tax for the services of the crown, and maintenance of so great a monarchy, was certainly a light one. The removal of the *Egyptians* into new and different allotments, from one end of the kingdom to the other, was an instance of great policy. It was the very thing that many ages after was practised by that consummate commander *Hannibal*; in which he was copied by the *Romans*. The kings of *Assyria* are observed to have acted in the same manner. It was a sure way to prevent innovation and rebellion. That *Egypt* had originally many different tribes, if not nations, we learn from Scripture; and that they were not all equally subordinate to the principal person of the land, but had their separate attachments and jurisdictions, I have shewn. It appears farther from the many various and opposite customs, which prevailed among them, even to the times of the *Romans*. Each of the portions into which the land was cantoned out having it's particular succession of kings; there has arisen from it great confusion and uncertainty in the chronology of *Egypt*: which seems to be inexplicable. From the first peopling of the country I imagine this variety of governments to have subsisted; which defect in the national establishment was in great measure remedied by *Joseph*: whence arose a very powerful monarchy, and one of the longest duration in history. It is not however meant that *Egypt* after the days of *Joseph* continued always uniformly under one head. It was at times divided, and lapsed into a kind of oligarchy: but still it recovered itself, and flourished for many ages: and the means of such recovery, and the original form of their government, which they returned to, were owing to the primeval institutions of this great patriarch.

³ Some have thought that the memory of *Joseph* was preserved in

³ See *Marsham Πολυκοιρανικη Ægypti*, ad Sec. XVI. pag. 470. *Vossius* de Orig. et Progr. Idol. Lib. 1. Cap. 28.

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in the *Egyptian* rites and symbols, though it has been long
obscured; and that divine honours were paid to him. This
may perhaps be doubtful: but thus far we may be assured,
that every honour that a grateful people could in reason pay
to a benefactor, this wonderful man deserved at the hands of
the *Egyptians*.

SOME
FARTHER ACCOUNT
OF THE
ARABIAN S
WHO
RESIDED IN EGYPT.

IT may perhaps be expected that I should say something
of the time, when the *Arabian Shepherds* first made their
migration from *Babylonia*; and of the reasons that induced
them to leave their native country, and betake themselves
to the land of *Ham*. This is a very remote inquiry; and
both the time and the cause of their coming obscure. Yet
there are means left us to trace it out to a degree, though not
per-

perhaps precisely; and the grounds on which I shall proceed may, I think, be warranted.

Upon the dispersion of mankind, it is observable that the sons of *Shem* had the preeminence, either by the allotment of their great progenitor, or else by divine appointment: which latter is pretty plainly implied. Hence *Elam*, *Aram*, *Assur*, and *Arphaxad* retired to their several provinces, which were not very far removed from the place whence all set out; and which for many ages retained their names. The sons of *Japhet* were removed farther; but did not hesitate to obey. As to the lot of *Assur*, it seems to have been the region between the two great rivers, the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; and that particular spot, which was the center of the general diffipation. But it appears that the sons of *Chus*, under the influence of their imperious leader *Nimrod*, stood their ground, and maintained themselves in opposition to the general partition. They usurped the lot of *Assur*: and *Nimrod*, to secure what he had unjustly seized upon, immediately set about fortifying the country. He built *Babylon*, that famous city of old; also *Erech*, *Accad* and *Calneh*, all in the land of *Shinaar*:

† It seems, as if the design of Providence was that the three branches of *Noah's* family should divide the earth between them: that *Asia* was to be allotted to the sons of *Shem*, *Europe* to *Japhet*, and *Africa* to *Ham*. *America* was too remote to be then considered. These three large continents were in great measure peopled according to this distribution. The only exception was *Nimrod* together with his people, and the sons of *Canaan*; who went contrary to the general allotment, and, as it seems to be implied, in opposition to the divine decree: which was the reason that the *Canaanites* and *Amorites*, and all the collateral branches, together with the *Amalekites*, were so particularly obnoxious, and devoted by the express ordinance of God to destruction for their rebellion and impiety. See *Syncellus*. p. 45. Νεωτερισατο ὁ τῆ Χαμ υἱὸς Χανααν, ἐπέβη τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆ Σημ, κ. τ. λ. taken from *Euseb. Chron.* p. 10. Νεωτερισας ὁ τῆ Χαμ υἱὸς Χανααν ἐπέβη τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆ Σημ, καὶ κατώκησεν ἐκεῖ παραβας τὴν ἐντολὴν Νωε, συν τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆ γενομένοις ἐθνεσιν ἑπτα,—ὅς διὰ Μωσεως καὶ Ἰησὺ τῆ Ναυῆ ἐξώλοθρευσεν ὁ Θεὸς, καὶ κατὰ τινὰς καιροὺς διὰ τῶν Κριτῶν ἀπέδωκε τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ τὴν πατρῶαν γῆν, δικαίως καὶ ἐν τῷ φανείῳ ὁ Θεός. See Additional Remarks.

Shinaar: which land was occupied originally by *Asbur*; but he was forced to quit it, and leave the kingdom he had laid the foundation of to others. ² "Behold," says *Isaiab*, "the land of the *Chaldeans*; this people was not till the *Affyrian* founded it for them that dwell in the wilderness" (i. e. the *Cuseans* or *Arabians*;) "they set up the towers thereof, they raised up the palaces thereof; and he brought it to ruin." And accordingly we are told in *Genesis*; "Out of that land went forth *Asbur*," that is, went by compulsion; for all went out of the land originally; but he went out of the place of his allotment: and having so powerful an enemy to deal with, and not knowing where his encroachments would end, set about fortifying in his turn; and built a chain of cities, equal both in strength and number to those that had been founded by *Nimrod*. He ³ "builded *Nineveh*, and the city *Reboboth*, and *Calah*, And *Resen* between *Nineveh* and *Calah*: "the same is a great city." ⁴ *Bochart* and *Hyde*, men of most excellent learning, interpret this passage otherwise: and, instead of "out of this land went *Asbur* and built *Nineve*," they translate it, *Nimrod went out of this land into Asbur or Assyria, and built Nineve*. Whether the original will bear this interpretation, let those determine who are sufficiently skilled in it. The chief objection made by these writers to the common acceptation of the passage arises from this; that *Asbur*, they say, is here mentioned out of his place: which is the most frivolous and ill grounded allegation that could be thought of. Nothing is more common with the sacred writers, in giving a list of people, than to introduce some little history of particular persons, as they mention them: of which many instances may be ⁵ produced. The person here

² *Isaiab*. 23. v. 13.

³ *Gen*. 10. v. 11, 12.

⁴ *Hyde* chap. 2. pag. 41. *Bochart* Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. Lib. 4. Cap. 12.

⁵ See *Gen*. 10. v. 5, 14, 18, 19, 30. *Gen*. 36. v. 24, 30. 1 *Chron*. 7. v. 21.

here spoken of is *Nimrod*, of the line of *Ham*; who is mentioned as an extraordinary character. As he trespassed upon *Asbur*, and forced him to leave the land of *Shinaar*; his history is so blended with that of *Asbur*, that one could not be mentioned without the other. What is said is so far from being introduced out of it's place, that nothing could come in more naturally, or with greater propriety. It was impossible to omit it, without rendering the history defective. *Cush* begat *Nimrod*: he was a bold and powerful man. He seized upon *Babylon*, and forced *Asbur* to leave that country, who went out of the land, and built *Nineve* and other cities. This is the amount of it: and what can be more natural and proper? These circumstances are not introduced as belonging to the history of *Asbur*, but of *Nimrod*, to which they are an appendage. If the genealogy of *Asbur* had been here spoken of, it might have been excepted to with more shew of propriety. But that was reserved to it's particular place.

We may therefore venture to accede to the interpretation of the Bible according to our present translation; and say that *Asbur* built *Nineve*, as *Babylon* was founded by *Nimrod*. The differences that must have subsisted between these two states are not recorded: but it is pretty certain that the sons of *Asbur* got possession of *Babylon* very early, and recovered the place of their original destination. It was in consequence of their being expelled from *Babylon*, that I imagine the *Cuseans* went into *Egypt*, and occupied the best of the country; to which they gave their name. Whether it was immediately upon their retreat, and at once, or at different times, is uncertain. Here they certainly settled; and built cities in memory of those, that they left behind: a circumstance of all others the most natural, and of which we have many instances. Here they had a succession of kings, who were called the *Pastor Kings*; for all the *Cuseans* were *nomades* or *shepherds*. It is observable that, during their whole residence
in

in this country, they seem to have been in perpetual fear of the *Assyrians*. They had one king in particular that was named *Salatis*; who is represented as very cautious and vigilant; placing garrisons in the most convenient places; but especially fortifying all to the east, for fear the *Assyrians* should form any design of making an attack upon them that way. ⁶ Φεραν εν τοις επιτηδειατοις καταλειπων τοποις* μαλιστα δε και τα προς ανατολην ησφαλισατο μερη, προορωμενος Ασσυριαν, τοτε μειζον ισχυοντων, εσομενην επιθυμιαν της αυτης βασιλειας εφοδε. In process of time this people was expelled from *Egypt*: and it is said at their departure, when upon a compromise they were obliged to leave the country, that they were greatly distressed where to betake themselves, for fear of the *Assyrians*. What other nation, but the sons of *Cush*, had any reason to be afraid of the *Assyrians*? And why should the *Cuseans* themselves be afraid of this people, unless, as I said before, they had been grievous aggressors; and *Babylon* was now in the hands of their enemies? The *Assyrian* was for many ages quiet: they contended not for empire till long after: and the first acts of violence began under ⁷ *Pul* of *Nineve*, and were continued by his successors. But in these early days there was nothing to be feared from that quarter, except by this nation of the *Cuseans*, who had made the *Assyrian* their professed enemy; from whose resentment they had fled; and within the verge of whose vengeance they were afraid of returning. From all which we may conclude, that *Babylon* at this time was not in the hands of the sons of *Cbus*. They must have been ejected by the *Assyrians*; otherwise there would have been a safe retreat for this people to their original place of residence: they might at least have put themselves under the protection of their brethren: so that there could have been no grounds for their apprehensions. The *Assyrians* would have

⁶ *Maneth.* apud *Joseph.* contra *Apion.* Lib. 1. §. 14.

⁷ *2 Kings.* 15. v. 19.

have been too remote to have hurt them ; as is evident from the situation of their country, that lay upon the upper part of the *Tigris*; between which and *Egypt* many nations intervened. The sons of *Asbur* must therefore have regained the place which was so unjustly held from them; and were in possession of ⁸*Babylonia*. That this was the case, while the *Cuseans* were in *Egypt* may, I think, be farther proved; and their fears at their departure justified by a passage in the *Mosaic* history, which will give, and at the same time receive, much light by being compared with this extract from *Manetho*. We are informed ⁹of a very early warfare, undertaken by four kings against many tributary nations, that had withdrawn themselves from their allegiance: “ And it came to pass in the days of *Amraphel* king of *Shinar*, *Arioch* king of *Ellasar*, *Chedorlaomer* king of *Elam*, and *Tidal* king of nations; That these made war with *Bera* king of *Sodom*, and with *Birsha* king of *Gomorrhah*, *Shinab* king of *Admah*, and *Shemeber* king of *Zeboiim*, and the king of *Bela*, which is *Zoar*. All these were joined together in the vale of *Siddim*, which is the *Salt sea*. Twelve years they served *Chedorlaomer*, and in the thirteenth year they rebelled. And in the fourteenth year came *Chedorlaomer*, and the kings that were with him, and smote the *Rephaims* in *Ashteroth Karnaim*, and the *Zuzims* in *Ham*, and the *Emims* in *Shaveh Kiriataim*, And the *Horites* in their mount *Seir* unto *El-paran*, which is by the wilderness;—all the country of the *Amalekites*, and also the *Amorites*, that dwelt in *Hazexon-tamar*.” We have here an account of an early and formidable confederacy of four potent princes in order to make war upon their tributaries, and to reduce them to their pristine obedience. This union seems to have been no other, than a grand alliance of the house of *Shem*. The king of *Elam* was confessedly

⁸ *Ninus* conquered *Babylon*. *Diodor. Sic. Lib. 2. pag. 64.*

⁹ *Gen. 14. v. 1, &c.*

fessedly of his lineage. *Arioch Melech Ellasar* is the same as *Arioch Melech al Asur*, and so it may be read; that is, "*Arioch* king of *Nineve*:" for both the country and the capital were called by that name: and *Mousul*, built on the ruins of *Nineve*, still retains it; if we may believe modern travellers, and especially *Benj. Tudelensis*, who terms it, *Al Assur*. As to any objection, that may be raised to this prince's being king of *Assyria*, because he is termed *Ellasar*, it amounts to nothing. ² *Tiglath-Pul Assur* is called *Tiglath-pileser*; and *Assur Adon*, that is, "the great lord *Assur*" is termed *Esar-baddon*: which is owing to the different manner of writing, and pronouncing words in different ages; and that variation, which will sometimes arise through want of vowels in the *Hebrew*. *Ellasar*, like the words above, is somewhat diversified: yet is in reality the same as *Arioch Melech al Asur* or *Assur*, "*Arioch* the great *Assyrian*," the mighty prince of *Nineve*: and answers precisely to the *Arius*,³ who stands fourth in the dynasties of *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Syncellus*. *Tidal* king of nations we may imagine was either of the line of *Arphaxad*, or of *Aram*: but of the two, the latter is the more probable.⁴ Indeed it is in a manner confirmed by *Eupolemus*, who gives a particular account of this transaction; and mentions the exploit of *Abraham* in recovering his brother *Lot*, who had been taken prisoner. He tells us that, after the patriarch had settled in *Canaan*, this war began: and he mentions the *Armenians*, that is, the sons of *Aram*, as principals in it: that they defeated their enemies, and took many prisoners; among others the brother

¹ *Benj. Tudelensis Itinerar.* pag. 61.

² *2 Kings.* 15. v. 19, 29.—19. v. 37. "Since the days of *Esar-baddon* king of *Assur*." *Ezra.* 4. v. 2. called by the *Seventy* *Acapadar*.

³ Of this *Arius* see *Pasch. Chron.* pag. 37. His true name was *Tyras*: he was the son of *Ninias*.

⁴ *Theophilus* supposes these kings to come from *Chaldea* and *Assyria*; but is so confused, that little light can be obtained from what he says. *Theoph.* ad Autolycum. Lib. 2. pag. 160.

brother of *Abraham*: that *Abraham* armed the servants of his household, and regained his brother and the other captives; and in his turn took prisoners the wives and children of the enemy.

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Αἰθιοπὸς ἐπιστρατεύσας τοῖς Φοινίκαις νίκησάντων δὲ καὶ αἰχμαλωτίσασκεν τὸν ἀδελφίδην αὐτοῦ, τὸν Ἀβραὰμ μετὰ οἰκετῶν βοηθήσαντα, ἐγκρατὴ γενέσθαι τῶν αἰχμαλωτίσασκεν, καὶ τῶν πολεμίων αἰχμαλωτίσαι τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας.

By this we find, that three of the principal branches of the house of *Shem* are represented as joining their forces with the king of *Shinaar*. Now it does not seem probable, that the sons of *Shem* should enter into an alliance with the chief of the family of *Ham* and *Chus*, who must necessarily have been their professed enemies. And it is still less probable, that the house of *Chus* should join themselves to that of *Shem*, in order to destroy the *Amalekites* and the *Amorites*, and the nations of *Canaan*, who were of the same lineage, that they were of themselves, all equally descended from *Ham*: between whom one would have imagined there had subsisted a natural alliance. We therefore can scarce suppose, that the king of *Shinaar* here mentioned was a *Cusean*, or a descendant from *Ham*. He was certainly descended from *Shem*: and *Babylon* must have been at this time in the hands of the *Assyrians*. From these premises, which I submit to the reader, I beg leave to draw up this historical epitome. The kings of *Elam* and of *Assur* seem to have called in to their assistance another powerful prince, who was of the family of *Aram*, a collateral branch of *Shem*, in order to extirpate their common enemy. Which when they had effected, and driven the sons of *Chus* from *Shinaar* and *Babylon*, they placed a king of their own on the throne. His name was *Amraphel*: and to secure themselves from any future insults, they weakened every branch of them, and obliged the most distant to be tributaries. And upon their rising in rebellion thirteen years afterwards, they invaded their

⁵ Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 17.

their country with a powerful army, and destroyed or captivated all that they engaged with. Among others that they invaded, were the *Zuzim* in *Ham*, and the *Emim* in *Shaveh Kiriathaim*, and the *Horites* in mount *Seir* unto *El-paran*: likewise the *Amorites*, and *Amalekites*, all which were the descendants of *Ham*, and some of the family of *Cbus*. From these circumstances laid together we may find out the true cause of this war, the most ancient of any upon record: the occasion and grounds of which were never, that I know of, explained. It is the same, that is alluded to by *Eusebius*,⁶ when he says, that the "*Chaldeans* came with an army against the "*Phenicians*:" which *Syncellus* likewise takes notice of; ⁷ Χαλδαῖοι κατὰ Φοινίκων ἐστρατεύσαν. He calls them *Chaldeans*, and *Phenicians*: but what he alludes to, is this war of the confederates: for there is no other mentioned in history, to which it can possibly be referred. The *Grecians*, through ignorance of the places they treat of, especially if they are of high antiquity, seldom speak with exactness. Hence in this place, instead of the *Canaanites* they have put the *Phenicians*; and have substituted the *Chaldeans* for the people of *Elam* and *Shinaar*. What *Eusebius* has preserved from *Eupolemus*, is a very curious fragment, and much to the present purpose. He mentions *Abraham* by name, and is very particular in the most interesting events of the war; but makes the sons of *Aram* the principals.

Whether we may date the time of the *Shepherds* first migration into *Egypt* from the æra of this war, I cannot determine:

⁶ *Euseb. Chronic.* pag. 26.

⁷ *Syncell.* pag. 153. He alludes to the same war in another place; where he is more particular, and mentions the very motives upon which it was first undertaken. He says that, after the death of *Canaan*, the family of *Shem* made an attack upon that part of the race of *Ham* which was in possession of *Palestine*, on account of their having usurped that country: Τῷ βωλῇ εἶπεν τῷ κοσμῷ, τῷ δὲ Φαλὲκ ἔξ ἔπει, Καῖναν ἀπεθανε· καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ τῷ Σεμ ἐπολεμήσαν πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς Χαμ περὶ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Παλαιστίνης. pag. 90.

mine: it might have been a century before. Indeed, we cannot form a judgment of the time when the war commenced. Thus much, I think, we may be assured of, that it was undertaken on account of the sons of *Chus*, and their usurpations: and affords good reason for their fears and alarms, both during their residence in *Egypt*; and when, many years afterwards, they retired from it: for they were under great embarrassment at their departure, and knew not where to betake themselves for fear of the *Assyrians*. Now there is not upon record any other time in a period of above a thousand years, when the *Assyrians* were thus to be feared: nor any nation, but the *Cuseans*, that had any reason to dread them. The *Assyrians* and their allies seem to have made one great and effectual effort to rid them of a powerful enemy. This grand affair being finished, they lay quiet and peaceable for ages. There is no mention made of them for a vast interval: their name no where occurs; no more, than if they had been totally extinct. For which reason *Diodorus*, after mentioning some of their first princes, does not think it worth his while to give a list of those that succeeded, "because they had never done any thing worthy of being recorded;" ⁸ δια το μηδεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν πεπραχθαι μνημης αξιον.—⁹ Το γαρ απολεμον τε, και αφιλοκινδυνον, και γυναικωδες, αυτοις ην ασφαλες. Ενδον γαρ εμενον, εδε τι αυτοις ων εργον επρησσετο. Ουδε εωρα τις αυτας, πλην αι τε παλλακιδες, και των ανδρων οι γυναικωδεις.

Thus much farther light may, I think, be obtained in respect to this great occurrence: that, though the *Cuseans* were perhaps settled in *Egypt* before the æra of this war, or this concluding part of it; yet there might have been from hence a great accession to their numbers. They were probably joined by other nations, that took shelter in this country; particularly the *Horites* and *Amalekites*, who were driven by the same

⁸ *Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. pag. 77.*

⁹ *Cephaleon apud Euseb. Chron. pag. 30.*

same tempest, and involved in the like calamity. Hence arose the tradition among the *Arabians* that the *Amalekites* conquered *Egypt*.⁸ This war had probably been of long continuance; and the Scripture seems to intimate as much, though it gives an account of the finishing part only. There is, I am afraid, too much reason to think that war commenced, as soon as nations were constituted. The Scripture speaks of the king of *Elam* as principal: the *Affyrians* have taken the chief merit of it to themselves: and the sons of *Aram*, according to *Eupolemus*, made the same claim. So early was the pride of conquest. It is plain from the history of this war, as it is given us by *Moses*, that some notable occurrences had preceded: which not relating to the grand scheme of Providence, that was carrying on, are omitted by the divine historian. We find, that great animosities had subsisted among particular nations; that some had been put under contributions: that they had been tributaries several years: which could not have been effected without armies taking the field, and some struggles for liberty, before such service could have been imposed. *Josephus*² and the later historians speak of this as a *pentapolitan* war; and consider it as carried on chiefly, if not solely, with the five princes of the *Asphaltic* vale. But they were but an inconsiderable part of it; and were taken in towards the close, after a grand sweep of many, and far more powerful, nations.

This seems to have been the war, and these the conquests of the *Affyrians*, so often alluded to, and so greatly magnified by the antients: which, without doubt, were very considerable. The whole of these transactions is in general attributed to *Ninus*, who took *Babylon*: but the chief part may with more propriety be ascribed to *Arioch*; of whose fame there are many, though obscure, traces. He probably finished, what

¹ *Al Soyuti*. See *Universal Hist.* Book. I. Cap. 3. Sect. VI.

² *Ant. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.*

what was begun by *Ninus*. He was called *Bel Arioch*, or *Belus the lion*, from a word of that signification: and by the *Greeks* he is mentioned under the title of Βηλος Ἀρείας, or *Belus Martius*; for *Aρης*, *Mars* is from ἴλιον, a lion. We are informed by *Cedrenus*, that one of the early successors to *Ninus* was called *Tbouros*: that he was the son of *Zames*, the same as *Ninyas*: that his father gave him the name of *Ares*; but that the people called him *Baal*, and payed him divine honours. All which relates to *Arius*; for he was the son of *Zames*. 4 Μετα Νινον — Θυρος των Ασσυριων βασιλευει. Τετον ο πατηρ αυτε Ζαμης — Αρεα εκαλεσεν. — Τετω τω Αρει πρωτην γηλην ανεστησαν οι Ασσυριοι, και ως θεον προσκυνουσι, Βααλ ονομαζοντες. This is a very curious piece of history, that *Cedrenus* has preserved in memory of this antient hero, the son of *Zames*, and grandson of *Ninus*: who is supposed by *Marsham* to have been the Ζεὺς Εὐναλῖος of *Hesiæus*. We learn from it, besides the historical account, that *Belus*, *Bel*, and *Baal* were properly the name of a deity, but assumed by men as a title. It explains the meaning of θυρος αρης, and μνησαδε δε θυριδος αλκης, which occur so often in *Homer*: and we may learn from it, that the meaning of the word *Arioch* is *Ouc Ares*, “the mighty lion;” or, according to the later acceptation of it, “the great god of war.”

There is a passage in *Diodorus Siculus*, which relates to this war; but is mentioned in a very confused manner. He makes *Ninus* very truly the invader of the *Babylonians*, but joins him with the *Arabians*, whose king he calls *Ariæus*: by

3 *Ninus*, *Semiramis*, *Zames* or *Ninyas*, *Arius*. *Euseb.* and *Syncellus*.

4 *Cedren.* Compend. Historiar. pag. 16. Edit. Paris. 1647.

5 *Canon Chronic.* ad Sec. I. pag. 32.

6 See *Joseph.* Ant. Jud. Lib. I. Cap. 4.

7 Μετα δε Νινον εβασιλευσεν Ασσυριων Θυρας ονοματι, οντινα μετωνομασεν ο τετα πατηρ Ζαμης — Αρεα. Ουτος εγενετο πικρος πολεμιστης. *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 37. Αλκης μεν και ρωμης συμβολον αυταις ο λεων. *Clem. Alex. Strom.* Lib. 5. pag. 567. Hence all the *Persian* names in *Ares*.

8 *Diodorus Sic.* Lib. 2. pag. 64.

by which means he has perplexed both the time and order of history. *Ariæus*, or, as he is otherwise called, *Arius* was certainly an *Affyrian*; and a successor of *Ninus*: and the *Arabians* were the very people, that the *Affyrians* attacked. The king of *Babylonia* was of the posterity of *Nimbrod* and *Cush*, the great heads of the people called afterwards *Arabians*: for as yet there was hardly any nation of that name: and if there were, yet it is scarce credible, that they should be engaged against their own people, and in alliance with their enemy the *Affyrian*. When therefore it is mentioned by *Diodorus*, that *Ninus* marched to *Babylonia*, *τον δυναστευοντα των Αραβων παραλαβων*, "taking with him the king of the *Arabians*;" it should be corrected from *Eupolemus* before quoted, and the true reading will be found *των Αραμων*, "being joined by the king of *Aram*," his neighbour and natural ally. In like manner, instead of *Αραβιας* ⁹ in another place, the word *Αραμιας* should be substituted; which was doubtless the reading that occurred in the original history, from whence that of *Diodorus* was copied. The *Greeks* knew nothing of *Aram* or *Aramia*, and therefore altered to *Arabian* and *Arabia*, what came under that article. But the true reading, I think, may be proved, both from the tenour of the Scripture history, and from the evidence of *Eupolemus*. *Tidal* is by the *Greek Scholiast* called *Βασιλεως Παμφυλιας*, and in the *Samaritan*, the king of the *Ghammin*: but in the original, "*Tidal* king of nations." This seems to be a *Hebrew* expression, analogous to that of *Isaiab*, ¹ where the country above *Jordan* is called "*Galilee* of the nations." It is quoted by *St. Matthew*: ² *Γη Ζαβελων και γη Νεφθαλειμ, οδον Θαλασσης, περαν τε Ιορδανου, Γαλιλαια των εθνων*, by some interpreted, *Galilee populousa*. It was indeed populous; but that is not the circumstance intimated here: and it is more properly

⁹ *Diodorus Sic. Lib. 2. pag. 64.*

¹ Chap. 9. v. 1.

² Chap. 4. v. 15.

perly rendered in the *English* version, "*Galilee of the Gentiles.*" It was more mixed with foreigners and aliens, than the other parts of the *Jewish* territories: and seems on that account to have been abhorred by those of *Jerusalem*, who would not allow any good thing to proceed from it. ³ "Search and look: for out of *Galilee* ariseth no prophet." *Josephus* speaking of upper and lower *Galilee* says, that they were surrounded with strange tribes and nations; ⁴ ἐθνέσιν ἀλλοφυλοῖς κεκυκλωμένοι. But this was not all: they were certainly mixed with them; as was likewise *Cæsarea*, though not in *Galilee*. The first occasion of the war with the *Romans* arose from a quarrel ⁵ between the *Syrians* and *Jews* of that place. It was upon the same account that *Galilee* was called by the like title in *Maccabees*; ⁶ Ἐπισυνήχθαι ἐπ' αὐτὰς ἐκ Πτολεμαίδος καὶ Τύρου καὶ Σιδωνος καὶ πάσης Γαλιλαίας ἀλλοφυλῶν: in our translation—"They of *Ptolemais*, and of *Tyrus*, and *Sidon*, "and all *Galilee of the Gentiles.*" In consequence of this mixture the people of these parts were to be distinguished by their manner of speaking, either the tone or dialect. The man in the Gospel says to St. Peter, ⁷ καὶ γὰρ Γαλιλαῖος εἶ, καὶ ἡ λαλῖα σε ὁμοιάζει. I have dwelt upon these circumstances; because some persons, among whom is the learned *Grotius*, have imagined that *Tidal* was king of *Galilee*, meerly from his being termed "king of nations." He must at this rate have been a *Canaanite*, and at the same time warred upon the *Canaanites*, in confederacy with princes of another race: which is not probable. But there is not the least ground for the supposition. He was king of *Aram*: and his kingdom, or at least his army, did not consist of one people or family, like that of *Elam* or *Asshur*; but was made up of different tribes. Some of them

pos-

³ *John*. 7. v. 52.

⁴ *Joseph*. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 3. Cap. 3.

⁵ *Joseph*. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 13.

⁶ *1 Maccab*. 5. v. 15.

⁷ *Mark*. 14. v. 70.

possibly were of the sons of *Japhet*, of the race of *Tabal* and *Meshech*, called afterwards the *Moschi* and *Tibareni*; who bordered upon the sons of *Aram*, and might be confederate with them. The mixture of nations in *Galilee* was in consequence of the captivity of the ten tribes; and the captivity of *Judah* afterwards. It began then to admit foreigners: but in the days of *Tidal* it was occupied by the *Canaanite*, and uniformly peopled.

Of the DEPARTURE of the

FIRST SHEPHERDS FROM EGYPT:

AND OF THE

A M A L E K I T E S.

WE are informed by *Manetho*, that after a long series of tyranny and oppression the *Cuseans* were at last opposed by the joint forces of *Egypt*, and were forced to retreat before them. They were first discomfited by king *Misphragmuthosis*, and driven to their city *Avaris*: where they were beleaguered by *Amosis* or *Thummosis*, the son of the former prince; who streightened them very much. This place, where they were shut up, is said to have been 10000 arouras in

in ¹ circumference; which would turn out a prodigious extent. But the *Egyptian* aroura was a square superficial measure; and it is not probable, that it was here intended for a measure in length. When *Josephus* therefore, or *Manetho* says, ² ἀρouraν έχοντα μωριων την περιμετρον; there is great reason to think, that in the original an inclosure was meant by that expression; and that the square surface amounted to the number of arouras specified. Now 10000 *Egyptian* arouras might be a district about three miles square: and probably was the amount

¹ According to *Strabo*, Vol. 2. pag. 1136. *Egypt* was divided into provinces, toparchies, and other smaller portions, of which the aroura was the least. It was a square of 100 *Egyptian* cubits; and contained 33269.76 *English* square feet. *Herodotus*, Lib. 2. cap. 168. says, that the *Calasirian* soldiers had each allotted to him 12 arouras of land; amounting according to *Bp. Cumberland* to 9 *English* acres, and 165 millesimals, or one tenth of an acre. I imagine therefore, that *Josephus* is not understood in what he says; and that the passage, ἀρouraν έχοντα μωριων την περιμετρον, means a circumference, that contained so many portions of land: for it is plain, that among the *Egyptians* the aroura was a square piece of ground, a measure of superficial quantity, and not a measure of length and distance. They measured great intervals by cubits and schoeni. *Sir John Marsham*, and they, who follow him, do not see what absurdities their opinion is attended with. He supposes the place of this extent to have been *Pelusium*. *De Pelusio autem nullum est dubium. Munimentum hoc, omnium vetustissimum—Præsidium ei impositum est militum 240000. Paulo post Manetho ponit hunc locum ἀρouraν έχοντα μωριων την περιμετρον—Quodlibet quadrati latus fuerit 2500 jugerum; area 6250000. Sec. VIII. pag. 109.* This learned man has given an extent to *Pelusium*, which not only no city, but few provinces were equal to. If we except *Egypt*, I question whether in those times there was a kingdom upon earth of that bigness. An aroura was 100 cubits: and if we suppose these cubits to be the same as the cubit of *Cairo* = 21 inches, 2500 arouras, or one side of the city, amounts to 82 *English* miles; and the circumference to 328. A square of these dimensions could not stand in lower *Egypt*. And fashion it any way, that it may be comprehended; and measure it by any cubit: still it will be too large for any camp, and much more for a city. Such an inclosure, which is supposed to have been in the *Sethroite* nome, would take in not only that nome, but seven nomes at least out of the ten, which were in the *Deltoid* triangle. The cubit of *Cairo* is properly 21.880 *English* inches. See *Arbutnot's* Tables. pag. 66.

² *Josephus* contra Apion. Lib. 1. §. 14.

amount of that part of the province of *Cushan*, which was called by the *Greeks* *Phaccusa*; the same, that had been their original place of residence, and which they made their last retreat. Here they were closely pressed; and after a siege of some time, they were reduced to a state of capitulation. The only terms, which the enemy would allow them, were that they should be permitted to retire unmolested, if they would immediately quit the country. They acceded to the terms; and forthwith evacuated the land of *Egypt*, which according to *Manetho* they had been in possession of above 500 years.³

I have mentioned, how great their alarms were in respect to the *Affyrians*, during their abode in *Egypt*. As they formed a large body at their departure, they were still afraid, that they might awaken the jealousy of their ancient enemies; especially, as every step they took, they advanced towards them. They therefore do not seem to have proceeded far; and there is great reason to think, that they took up their residence among the *Amalekites*, and the sons of *Caphthor* in *Philistim*, and among the nations upon the *Red Sea*: from whence they extended themselves to the remoter parts of *Arabia*. The *Arabians* call the people, who conquered *Egypt*, *Amalekites*: and there were probably many of that tribe among them. This nation has been by many represented as the descendants from *Esau*; being reputed the posterity of *Eliphaz* his firstborn, who had *Amalek* by *Timna* the *Horite*. This is one of those strange suppositions, for which there is

no
³ In the term of 500 years, I imagine, is comprehended the time of the twofold race of *Shepherds* in *Egypt*, though not distinguished by *Manetho*.

⁴ *Polemo*, styled *Σταλωνα*, who lived in the time of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and is quoted by *Africanus*, affirms that some forces withdrew out of *Egypt*, and settled in *Palestine* upon the borders of *Arabia*, in the time of *Apis* the son of *Phoroneus*. *Euseb.* *Præp. Evang.* Lib. 10. Cap. 10. *Marsham* supposes this to have been 272 years before the *Exodus*.

⁵ *Gen.* 36. v. 12.

no accounting. Yet it is Mr. Sale's⁶ opinion, and in some degree the opinion of the learned⁷ Reland. But it is intirely groundless. The *Amalekites* were a very ancient nation; and engaged in the first warfare, that is recorded. They were far⁸ prior to *Eliphaz*, or to *Esau*: and were a people before the birth of *Abraham*. Their name occurs very frequently in the sacred writings; which renders their history very plain: and when they are represented as attacking the children of *Israel* in *Rephidim*, they are particularly distinguished from the posterity of *Esau*.⁹ "And the Lord said unto *Moses*, Write "this for a memorial in a book, and rehearse it in the ears of "*Joshua*: for I will utterly put out the remembrance of "*Amalek* from under heaven.—The Lord hath sworn, that "the Lord will have war with *Amalek* from generation to ge-
"neration."¹⁰ "Remember what *Amalek* did unto thee by the "way when ye were come forth out of *Egypt*.—Thou shalt "blot out the remembrance of *Amalek* from under heaven; "thou shalt not forget it." Not so with *Edom*: he is more respected and distinguished: and strict injunctions were given, that he might not be molested.² "Command thou "the people, saying, Ye are to pass through the coast of your "brethren the children of *Esau*, which dwell in *Seir*; and "they shall be afraid of you: take ye good heed unto your-
"selves therefore.—Meddle not with them: &c."³ "Thou "shalt not abhor an *Edomite*; for he is thy brother." How is it possible, that these things could be said of one and the same people? and they must have been the same people, if the

⁶ Universal History. Book. I. Chap. 5. Sect. 5.

⁷ *Amalec ipse, עמלק, unde et gentis et terræ nomen defluxit, nepos erat Esau ex filio Eliphaz et concubinâ Thamná. Palæstina. Lib. I. Cap. 14.*

⁸ Clerici Comment. in Pentateuch. ad Gen. 14. v. 7. et Num. 24. v. 20.

⁹ Exod. 17. v. 14, 16.

¹ Deuteron. 25. v. 17, 19.

² Deuteron. 2. v. 4, 5, &c.

³ Deuteron. 23. v. 7. Numbers. 20. v. 14, &c.

the *Amalekites* were from the firstborn of *Esau*. They must likewise have been a very recent nation : whereas the *Amalekites* are spoken of as of antient date. For when the *Israelites* pitched in the plains of *Moab*, *Amalek* is mentioned as ⁴ "the first of the nations," though the time was to come, when he was to "perish for ever." The princes of this nation were called *Agag*, from whence the people were denominated *Agagites*; a name no ways applicable to the sons of *Edom*: and their kingdom was so powerful, that it was prophesied of the house of *Israel*, ⁵ "his king shall be higher than *Agag*: "and his kingdom shall be exalted." The good bishop *Cumberland*, among others, takes much pains to set all this aside; merely because there was a man in aftertimes, whose name was *Amalek*. He takes it for granted, without the least evidence to support him in his notion, that this person gave name to a nation, which is mentioned some centuries before his birth. ⁶ "*Amalek was the first of the nations*; that is," says the bishop, "one of the earliest plantations : and accordingly "we find *Amalekites* named by *prolepsis* among the people invaded by *Gbederlaomer*, *Gen.* 14. 7. and placed about *Kadesh* "and *Hazeron-tamar*, which lay within the *Horites* territory. "*Amalek*, *Esau's* grandchild, was not then born : but that "country in *Moses's* time being under *Amalek's* posterity, is "called *Amalek*: and so I conceive that *Balaam* meant, that "the kingdom, which in his time was under *Amalek*, was an "ancient kingdom even before *Amalek* was born." What unnecessary pains are here taken to perplex a plain and precise piece of history ! At this rate, what can we depend upon for a certainty? what is there so express and determinate, but may be set aside by this evasive manner of interpretation? According to the bishop's notion, all is to go for nothing, that

⁴ *Numbers.* 24. v. 20.

⁵ *Numbers.* 24. v. 7.

⁶ *Origines Gent. Antiquissimæ.* pag. 139.

that *Moses* has here told us. When *Cbederlaomer* smote the country of the *Amalekites*, there was no such people. When the prophet looked on *Amalek* and said, *Amalek was the first of the nations*, it was only by anticipation; for the *Amalekites* were not in being at the time alluded to: so that it related to another people. But with due deference to this excellent prelate, this is a dangerous way of proceeding; as we can never at this rate have any sure grounds to go upon. A plain narrative is hereby embarrassed; and we are robbed of that confidence, which we may implicitly repose in the words of *Moses*. How does it follow, if a person chances to be of the same name, as a nation or tribe, that he must necessarily be the father of that tribe or nation? or at least, that he must give name to that body of men, and to the country, which they possess? It is notorious that there are innumerable instances to the contrary. Yet upon such a notion, backed with no show of authority, is this hypothesis founded; and the plain evidence of the sacred writer set aside. Thus we balance a feather against a talent of gold, and blindly fancy that it preponderates. The *Amalekites* were certainly a people of the highest antiquity. The founder of this nation, according to the *Arab* historians, was the fifth from ⁸*Ham*. *Noah*, *Cham*, *Aram* or *Arar*, *Hutz* or *Uz*, *Ad* called *Aad*, *Amalek*. *Ad* the father of *Amalek* is reported to have been a person of great renown. His ⁹name appears to have been after his death taken by many ¹princes as an honourable title. The *Horites* of

⁸ *Relandi Palestina. Lib. 1. Cap. 14.*

⁹ *Ad* signifies both a prince and a deity. In *Phenicia* they called the sun *Adad* and *Achad*: the former is translated from *Sanchoniatho* βασιλεως, the king of kings: the latter is *Uc* or *Ouc Ad*, a title which I have sufficiently explained. See *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10*; and *Voss. de Orig. et Progr. Idololatr. Lib. 1. Cap. 22*. *Macrobius Saturnal. Lib. 1. Cap. 23.* gives a different interpretation.

¹ *Hadad*, *Bedad*, *Benbadad*, *Hadadezer*. One of the chief cities upon the *Red Sea* near *Midian* was *Adad*. *Ptolemy, Lib. 6.* All these names.

of *Scir*, whence *Eliphaz* took *Timna* his concubine, seem to have been of the *Amalekitish* race: and, as it is usual in families to keep up the memory of their forefathers by calling some of the posterity by their names; so among the sons of *Seir* the *Horite* we find the names of two of *Amalek's* ancestors retained: which in some degree may authenticate this genealogy, that the *Arabians* present us with. The sons of ²*Dishon*, who was the son of *Seir*, were *Uz* and *Aran*: which being the names of two of *Amalek's* ancestors seem to point out that the *Horites* were of the same original. It is to be observed, that this *Seir* the *Horite*, with whose family the sons of *Edom* seem to have made a close alliance, is distinguished in a particular manner by *Moses*: for he is the only person, not immediately of patriarchic descent, that has his posterity in it's different branches recorded.

Ham we find in many instances was pronounced *Cham*, and probably *Chem*: as several places, that took their name from him in *Egypt*, were called ³*Chemmis*. Hence it is, that in the above genealogy, some have by mistake altered his name to *Shem*, and supposed *Amalek* to be descended from that branch of *Noah*: on which account the name of *Chus* is likewise omitted. This mistake appeared more plausible from *Aram* being the next in order; as *Shem* had a son of that name. ⁴*Fuitque Aad filius Arami, filius Semi, filius Noë.* But there is reason to think, that the true name of this person was *Aran*: and it was *Chem* or *Cham* that was the ancestor of the people spoken of: and next to him was *Chus*, though omitted in the recital. This mistake in mentioning one of the

names seem to have been compounded from *Ad*, and *Aad*. *Hadad* an *Edomite* is mentioned *1 Kings*. *11. v. 14.* See *Pocock's Specimen Hist: Arab.* pag. 2. with his note at pag. 35.

² *Gen.* 36. v. 28. *1 Chron.* 1. v. 42. *Gen.* 36. v. 20.

³ See page 102. Note 6.

⁴ *Eutychii Annales*, interpr. *Pocockio*. Tom. 1. pag. 60.

the sons of *Noah* for another occurs too often. In the *Paschal Chronicle*, *Cbus* is said to be the son of *Shem*: ⁵ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Σημ, Χβς ονοματι κ. τ. λ. for *Χημ* or *Χαμ*. In like manner *Syncellus*; ⁶ Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι ἀπο τῆς Σημ καταγονται, ἐξ ὧν ὁ Ἀβραάμ. It should have been ἀπο τῆς Χημ or Χαμ. He mistook *Shem* for *Cham*; and in consequence of it has made *Abraham* a *Chaldean* by blood as well as by country.

There is another passage in the *Paschal Chronicle*, as erroneous as the former. ⁷ Ἐκ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς τῆς Σημ τῆς κρατησασῆς Συρίαν — τῆς πρώτης υἱὲς τῆς Νωε ἐγεννήθη καὶ ἀνεφάνη ἀνδρῶπιος γιγαντογενής, ονοματι Κρόνος. The person he alludes to, is *Nimbrod*, whom he represents as of the line of *Shem*: and makes *Shem* the eldest of the sons of *Noah*: whose posterity he says conquered *Syria*. But *Syria* they had by allotment: and *Shem* was not the eldest: for the Scripture mentions him as the brother of *Japhet* the elder.

These mistakes, though very capital, occur frequently in the later *Greek* historians: particularly in *John Malala*, and writers of his stamp. One instance will give an idea of his merit, as it contains a complication of blunders. ⁸ Ἐν δὲ τοῖς χρόνοις τῆς Ἀβραάμ ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀσσυρίων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Σημ Ναραχω. “In the days of *Abraham*, *Naracho* was king of the *Assyrians*, who was of the family of *Shem*:” — instead of, Ἀιγυπτίων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τῆς Χαμ Νεχω; “*Necho*, of the race of *Ham*, was king of *Egypt*.” His meaning in this passage cannot be mistaken; and the whole of it must relate to *Egypt*: for he mentions the history of *Joseph*; and absurdly says, that *Naracho*’s cook bought *Joseph* of the *Saracens*.

⁵ *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 36. See *Vossius* de Orig. et Progr. Idol. Lib. 1. Cap. 24.

⁶ *Syncelli Chron.* pag. 98.

⁷ *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 92.

⁸ *Malalæ Chron.* pag. 71. Oxon. 1691.

OF SOME

A T T E M P T S

OF THE

CUSEANS UPON EGYPT,

AFTER THEY HAD LEFT IT.

AFTER the retreat of the *Cuseans* from *Egypt*, they seem to have soon recollected themselves; and in the next reign they again invaded the ¹country. This shews, that they did not betake themselves to any considerable distance. They had a hard struggle for thirteen years; when fortune declared against them; and they were obliged finally to retreat. The *Egyptians*, provoked at this unexpected inroad, resolved to be aggressors in their turn; and accordingly levied an army, and attacked the *Cuseans* upon their own ²ground. This war is termed by the *Greeks* the war against the *Ethiopians*: under which name I have shewn that they always mention the *Cuseans*. It is probable, that the *Israelites* had some share in it. The sacred writers say nothing of this affair; it being a circumstance not at all relating to the grand scope and purpose of the Scriptures; but belonging rather to the

¹ *Manetho* apud *Joseph.* contra *Apion.* Lib. 1: §. 26, 27.

² *Cbron. Alexandr.* ad annum XXXI *Mosis.* pag. 148.

the *Egyptian* history, than to that of the sons of *Israel*. *Artapanus* however and ³ *Josephus* mention, that the conduct of this war was intrusted to *Moses*: and they are followed in this history by *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*. They tell the particulars of it: that ⁴ *Moses* passed a desert to attack the *Ethiopians*; which desert was full of serpents: that he came up to them, and defeated them; and afterwards married a daughter of a prince of the country. These *Ethiopians* were certainly *oriental*: and though the circumstances are somewhat obscure; yet the desert, which he passed to the attack, and the wife, he married, who was a *Cusean*, the daughter of a prince of *Midian*, point out the enemy, he was engaged with, and certify the particular race. He could not attack these *Ethiopians*, as they are stiled, without passing a desert: and though other wilds might abound with venomous reptiles, yet the *Arabian* ⁵ sands were particularly famous on that account. ⁶ “Beware
“ that thou forget not the Lord thy God,” said *Moses* to the *Israelites*, “ which brought thee forth out of the land of
“ *Egypt*, from the house of bondage; Who led thee through
“ that great and terrible wilderness, wherein were fiery ser-
“ pents, and scorpions, and drought, where there was no
“ water.” It was a part of this same wilderness, which *Moses* passed with his army: and they were the *Cusean* and *Amalekitish* ⁷ nations, which he invaded. This was perhaps
one

³ Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 10.

⁴ This piece of history is rejected by *Theodoret*, Interrog. 22. in Num. but without reason. If we admit nothing for truth, but what is in the Scriptures, we shall abridge ourselves of many and great helps towards their illustration.

⁵ Of these sands and the serpents in them, see *Strabo*, Vol. 2. pag. 1155. *Prosper Alpinus* de morbis Ægyptiorum, Lib. 4. Cap. 9. *Lucan*, Lib. 9. *Herodotus*, Lib. 2. Cap. 75. and *Pliny*.

⁶ Deut. 8. v. 11, &c.

⁷ *Zonaras* supposes, that they were the *occidental Ethiopians*, with whom *Moses* was engaged; and that he took their capital *Saba*. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. But *Saba*, were this circumstance true, was well known to have

one reason, why the *Amalekites*, when the children of *Israel* afterwards were passing the wilderness of *Sin*, fell unexpectedly on their rear, and harrassed them in their march; so that they brought them ill prepared for it to a ⁸ pitched battle. And long after, whilst the nation of *Amalek* existed, they took every opportunity of confederating against the people of *Israel*, and distressing them every way: till they were themselves reduced to the last extremity by *Saul* and *David*; and finally ruined by *Hezekiah* king of ⁹ *Judah*. Nor did their inveteracy cease with their nation: as long as any survived of the old stock, wherever scattered and removed, they still contrived mischief to the *Jews*: and at one time were well nigh retaliating all, that they had suffered from them: the whole of the surviving race of *Israel* being brought to the very brink of ruin by the wicked suggestions of ¹ *Haman*, who was an *Agagite*. The danger was so imminent and immediate, and the mischief so narrowly escaped; that the *Jews* still hold an annual feast in commemoration of their great deliverance.

I have more than once taken notice of the alarms and anxiety of the *Cuseans*, while they were in *Egypt*. As soon as they were departed, the *Egyptians* seem to have lapsed into the same suspicions and fears. It is remarkable, that *Joseph*, in his first interview with his brethren in *Egypt*, repeatedly tells them that they are spies. ² "Ye are spies; to see the nakedness of the land ye are come." And, ³ "That is it
" that

been a city in *Arabia felix*, and appertained to the *Ethiopians* of the east; that is, to the *Arabians*.

⁸ *Exod.* 17. v. 8.

⁹ *Saul* defeated the *Amalekites*, *1 Sam.* 14. v. 48. & chap. 15. *David* defeated them, *1 Sam.* 30. v. 11, &c. *2 Sam.* 1. v. 1. *Hezekiah* finally ruined them, *1 Chron.* 4. v. 39, &c.

¹ *Esther* 3. v. 8.

² *Gen.* 42. v. 9.

³ *Ibid.* v. 14.

“that I spake unto you, saying, Ye are spies.⁴” Although he knew them, and only affected to speak in this manner, yet it must be imagined, that he spoke the language of the times; and that such suspicions and jealousies were not uncommon among the *Egyptians*. Now almost all nations in those days, particularly those of *Canaan*, who were the nearest, were so small and circumscribed, that it was impossible they could give uneasiness to so powerful a kingdom, as *Egypt*.⁵ *In Asia regna vetustissima sunt angustissima.—Urbes singulae suos habebant τοπαρχας.* ⁶*Strabo* says the same: Τοπαλαιον μεν ουν οι Αραδιοι κατ’ αυτας εβασιλευοντο παραπλησιως, ωσπερ και των αλλων εκαστη πολειν των Φοινικιδων. One prince of that country, and of no great extent of province, is said to have had seventy vassal kings.⁷ A people so numerous, and every way so secured as the *Egyptians*, (δυσεισβολος πανταχοθεν Αιγυπτος) could not have entertained any fears about such puny states. Their jealousies and alarms must have been on account of some more powerful enemy, whose strength, and whose hostile inclination they had experienced. In short, it could be no other nation than the *Cuseans*; who were in the vicinity of *Egypt*, and always ready to take every opportunity to molest it. By this means we may explain the words of *Joseph*; which undoubtedly were not thrown out at random: but had some allusion to the times, and were uttered with a particular reference to the circumstances of the country.

⁴ See *Cumberland’s* Sanchoniatho. pag. 384.

⁵ *Marsham*. Canon. Chron. Sec. V. pag. 76.

⁶ *Strabo*. Vol. 2. pag. 1094.

⁷ *Judges*. I. v. 7.

OF THE

EDOMITES

AND

PHENICIANS.

AFRICANUS stiles the shepherds, that were in *Egypt*, *Phenicians*: by which circumstance many have been misled. This I wonder at: for though there is a difference in the name of the people, yet one and the same nation is meant. The true *Phenicians* were the sons of *Esau*, who was called ¹*Edom*: and they settled first at mount *Seir*; and upon the *Red Sea*, which received it's name from them. Both *Phoinic* and *Edom* signify *red*; which the *Greeks* changed to *Erythrus*, a word of the same meaning. They appear to have been a very great and knowing people: and though there are no annals of their nation remaining; and their history is very obscure; yet so far we may learn in general, that they were very rich and powerful; carrying on an extensive traffick in the sea, which they lived upon, and a great way farther; engrossing all the trade of the east. Their character must have been very respectable: for the prophets mention ²“ The
“ wise men out of *Edom*, and understanding out of the mount
“ of *Esau*; And thy mighty men, O *Teman*.” ³ “ Concern-
“ ing

¹ *Genesis* 25. v. 30.

² *Obadiab* v. 8, 9.

³ *Jeremiah* 49. v. 7.

“ing *Edom*, thus saith the Lord of hosts; Is wisdom no more
 “in *Teman*? is counsel perished from the prudent? is their
 “wisdom vanished?” And so truly noble and royal do they seem
 to have been, that the prophet *Isaiab* borrows his ideas from
 their supposed dignity and appearance; when he mystically
 describes our Saviour in his state of manhood, making his
 glorious advances upon earth. 4 “Who is this that cometh
 “from *Edom*, with dyed garments from *Bozrah*? this that is
 “glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his
 “strength? I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save.”
 This people in process of time got possession of *Tyre* and *Sidon*,
 and the adjacent country; which was called from them *Pheni-*
cia: but how early they settled here, is uncertain. They
 sent out many colonies: and traces of them are to be found,
 as far as *Gades* and *Tartessus*. *Herodotus* mentions, that they
 came originally from the *Red Sea*. 5 Ουτοι δε οι Φοινικες το παλαιον
 οικεον, ως αυτοι λεγουσιν, επι τη Ερυθρη θαλασση· ενθευτεν δε υπερβαιντες της
 Συριης οικεουσιν το παρα θαλασσαν. 6 Τετες γαρ [Φοινικας] απο της
 Ερυθρης καλεομενης θαλασσης απικομενες. But the best account of
 them is in the poet 7 *Dionysius*; who celebrates them for their
 ingenuity and knowledge; mentions the chief places where
 they settled; and speaks of them, as the first merchants upon
 the earth:

Οι δ', ἄλος ἐγγυς εὐντες, ἐπωνυμίην Φοινικες,
 Των δ' ἀνδρῶν γενεῆς οἱ Ερυθραῖοι γεγάσιν,
 Οἱ πρῶτοι νηεσσὶν ἐπειρησάντο θαλάσσης,
 Πρῶτοι δ' ἐμπορίας ἀλιδίνεος ἐμνήσαντο,
 Καὶ βαθυὺν οὐρανίων ἀστρῶν πόρον ἐφράσσαντο.
 Οἱ τ' Ἰοπὴν, καὶ Γάζαν, Ελαῖδα τ' ἐνναῖσσι,
 Καὶ Τυρόν ὠγυγίην, Βηρυτὲ τ' αἰαν ἐρανήν,
 Βυβλὸν τ' ἀγχιάλον, καὶ Σιδονὰ ἀνθεμῶεσσαν.

Those,

4 *Isaiab* 63. v. 1.

5 *Herodotus* Lib. 7. Cap. 89.

6 *Ibid.* Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

7 *Περὶ γ.* v. 905.

Those, who settled at *Gades* and the remoter parts of *Spain*, carried thither many memorials of their original country; particularly the name of *Edom*, by translation *Erythra*, which they conferred on that part, where they inhabited; and especially on an island, mentioned by *Pliny*.⁸ *Erythia dicta est, quoniam Tyrii, aborigines eorum, orti ab Erythraeo mari ferebantur.* The original *Phenicians* therefore were the people of *Edom*; who lived near the *Arabians* and *Amalekites*, and intermarried with their families, and are often confounded with them. They seem to have carried their knowledge with them, wherever they settled; and there are continual allusions in Scripture to their wisdom and experience. 9 "And *Hamath* " also shall border thereby; *Tyrus* and *Zidon*, though it be " very wise." The *Carthaginians* are represented as a knowing and politick people. It is remarkable, that their chief city *Carthage* was originally called *Bosra*, the name of the capital of *Edom*. Their language too was a dialect of the *Hebrew*: and the above city is said by *Philistus* to have been built by *Efor*, to whom he subjoins one *Carchedon* of *Tyre*.² *Καρχηδονα φησι Φιλιστος κτισθηναι ὑπο Εζωρα και Καρχηδονος των Τυριων.* Possibly *Spain* might receive the name of *Iberia* from them; who, when they settled in the parts particularly so called, were distinguished by their most ancient family name עברִי *Ebraei*. The original name of the river *Iberus* seems to have been the *Eber*, called at present *Ebro*. They settled in

⁸ *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 4. Cap. 22. Strab. Vol. 1. pag. 257. Fest. Avieni Orbis Terr. Descr. v. 1063. Hi Rubro a littore quondam Mutavere domos. Solin. Cap. 26. Quam [insulam] Tyrii a Rubro profecti mari Erythram nominarunt.*

⁹ *Zeck. 9. v. 2.*

¹ *Plauti Pœnulus. Act. 5. Sce. 1. Bochart Geogr. Sacr. pars post. Lib. 2. Cap. 1.*

² *Euseb. Chron. Can. pag. 31.*

in many parts of this country, but chiefly, as I have shewn, near *Gades*: and it is observable, that here was the principal seat of the *Iberi*, placed by *Stephanus Byzantinus* προς ταις Ἡρακλειαις σηλαις; and mentioned by *Dionysius* in the same situation,

³ Αγχε σηλαων μεγαθυμων εθνος Ιβηρων.

The *Iberians* therefore appear to have been the same nation as the *Erythreans* or *Edomites*; who came from *Tyre*, and were generally mentioned by the name of *Phenicians*: yet lost not their original gentile name from *Heber*; but were at times termed *Eberi*, or *Iberi*, according to the *Greek* manner of expressing it. The chief city of this country is at this day called *Ebora*; and is near the ancient *Gades*. So wide did this active people extend themselves: and they were for ages very powerful; till by degrees they were weakened in every part, and insensibly sunk into oblivion. In the time of the *Greeks* the *Arabians* were in possession of *Edom*, the original country of the *Phenicians*; and retain it to this day. Hence it is that they have been mentioned as coming from *Phenicia*; and sometimes called *Phenicians*. Such misnomers are very common in the writings both of *Greeks* and *Romans*. The land of *Israel* was called *Judea*, *Syria*, *Idumea*, *Phenicia*, *Palestine*: yet were they all distinct countries. ⁴*Philo* the Jew calls the *Amalekites*, who attacked the *Israelites*, *Phenicians*: and the *Amalekites* were *Arabians*. So that there need not be any difficulties raised, if we find the *Cuseans* represented under that denomination.

Bochart tries to invalidate these accounts of the *Phenicians*; and will not allow, that they came from *Edom* and the *Red Sea*. He quotes every author, that I have above mentioned, and particularly *Herodotus*; but sets aside their evidence: and the reason, which he gives, is very extraordinary. ⁵*Tamen ex Scripturâ constat Phœnices esse αυτοχθονας, et statim à primâ illa*

³ Περηνγ. v. 282.

⁴ *Phil. Jud.* 636. and 115. Edit. Mangey.

⁵ *Geogr. Sacr.* pars poster. Lib. 1. Cap. 43.

illa terrarum divisione patrem illorum Chanaanem in Chanaanæam se contulisse. Sed Judæos, qui, cum in terris Mari Rubro vicinis diu errassent, Phænices partem invaserunt, Phænicum nomine potuit significare Herodotus. He says, “it is manifest, that the “*Phenicians* were *aborigines*: that *Canaan* was the father of “them: and that he came into the country, which they possessed, immediately upon the dispersion:” all which he advances upon the authority of the Scriptures. What he mentions of *Canaan*, and of the *Canaanites*, is very true: but in respect to the *Phenicians* he plainly begs the question. They are so far from being represented in Scripture as the descendants of *Canaan*; that the Old Testament does not once in the whole course of it’s history mention their name. And as to the *Jews* being meant by *Herodotus*, when he speaks of the *Phenicians* coming from the *Red Sea*, there are no grounds for such a surmise. *Herodotus*, it seems, might call them *Phenicians*, who, when they had been a good while in the vicinity of the *Red Sea*, invaded part of *Phenicia*. The country, which they invaded, was *Canaan*: and should we agree to substitute the name of *Phenicia* in lieu of it, which is not allowable, yet even this can never authorize the inferences, which are made. *Herodotus* is at this rate guilty of a twofold mistake: first in supposing the *Jews* to have been *Phenicians*, because they invaded a country, afterwards so called: and secondly for imagining that they came originally from the *Red Sea*, because in their retreat from *Egypt*, they were a good while in it’s neighbourhood. Is there in this notion the least show of probability? *Bochart* mentions a particularly learned person, who differed from him, and asserted, that the *Tyrians* were originally from *Edom*; to which he answers—*puto id gratis asseri, et sine authore idoneo*:⁶—for this migration of the *Edomites* there

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⁶ *Bochart. Geogr. Sacr. pars posterior. Lib. i. Cap. 43. pag. 683.*

Stephanus in Azoto. ταυτην εκτισαν εις των επανελθοντων απ’ Ερυθρας θαλασσης Φυγαδων.

— *Hi Rubro à littore quondam*

Mutavere domos. — Festus.

Tyrii à Rubro mari profecti. Solinus.

is no good voucher. Strange! when so many writers are quoted for it by himself; some of whom are of the very first rank. I will transcribe them in his own words, as they stand at the top of the page:—*ita tradunt Herodotus, et in Strabone nonnulli, et Dionysius Periegetes, Festus, Priscianus, Plinius, Solinus, Stephanus*: to which may be added *Trogus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, whom he quotes for it in another ⁷ place. All these are set aside with ⁸ *Herodotus* at their head, though he had been in *Phenicia*, and visited *Tyre*, and must speak from knowledge, obtained upon the ⁹ spot. What is extraordinary, to all this positive evidence on one side *Bochart* has nothing to oppose but the doubts and scruples of ¹ *Strabo*, who was not quite satisfied, whether the ancient *Tyrians* were not a colony from *Greece*.

In another place *Bochart* puts a question to this purport: Why it happens, if the *Phenicians* were the descendants of *Canaan*, that the *Greek* writers never speak of them as such; nor call them by this family name? To which *Bochart* returns no very satisfactory answer. ² “*Respondebo Chananæos puduisse sui nominis, et desisse sic appellari, propter anathema contortum in patrem suum Chanaan.*” Whence does the learned *Bochart* obtain this knowledge? how was it possible for him to arrive at

⁷ *Bochart*. Geogr. Sacra. pars posterior. Lib. 4. Cap. 34. pag. 301. Pars prior. Lib. 1. Cap. 43.

⁸ *Herodotus*. Lib. 1. Cap. 1. pag. 1.

⁹ *Bochart* imagines, that *Herodotus* did not get his information from the *Tyrians*, but from the records of *Persia*: but he does not attend to the words of the historian, nor quote him quite fairly. He leaves out, what related to *Persia*; and joins two sentences, which were originally independant. The words of *Herodotus* are not — *The Persians say, that the Tyrians came from the Red Sea.* — but — *The Persians maintain, that the Phenicians were the cause of the differences, which subsisted between the European and Asiatic nations: for the Phenicians coming from the Red Sea, &c. first ventured upon long voyages.* This makes a wide difference in the narration. This latter part is no more an history borrowed from *Persia*, than the stories of *Io*, and *Europa* are, which are joined with it, and are mentioned in the same account. *Bochart supra*. See *Herodotus*. Lib. 1. at the beginning.

¹ *Strabo*. Lib. 1. pag. 73.

² Geogr. Sacra. pars prior. Lib. 4. Cap. 34.

at it, if it were true? But it is certainly a most improbable notion. All nations, but the *Israelites*, were in great uncertainty about their original; and there is no more reason to think that the *Canaanites* were acquainted with the true history of *Ham* and *Canaan*, than the *Ionians* and *Greeks* were with that of *Javan* and *Elissa*. Besides, how strange it is to suppose, that they should admit this gentile name from the general dispersion of mankind; that is, at least for twelve or fourteen hundred years; and then in the time of the *Greeks* become of a sudden ashamed of it, and lay it aside! It would certainly have been an unnecessary precaution, at whatever time their acquaintance commenced: for the *Greeks*, if it had been continued, would have been never the wiser; nor have found out the history annexed to it. It was an account, I believe, too ancient for the natives themselves to have been acquainted with. They looked up to *Belus* and *Chronus* for their ancestors: and held *Ogus* and other ⁹ heroes for their founders, of a very uncertain original; their notions not being uniform. For they were a trading people, and the *Tyrians* particularly a mixed multitude. The trade of this place, as well as government, was at last engrossed by the sons of *Edom*, who were called *Phœnic*, and entailed that name upon the country.

That I may compleat this argument, I beg to know, if the *Canaanites* were *ab origine Phœnicians*, how it comes to pass, that the sacred writers are silent on this head, who are so particular about the history and original of the sons of *Canaan*? And as they are silent in respect to this piece of history, I should be glad to be informed, whence the learned *Beckart* gets his intelligence? The same demand may be made upon

bishop

⁹ Such as *Demaroun* and *Melicarthus*. Τῶν δὲ Δημαρῶντι γινεται Μελικάρχους, ὁ καὶ Ἡρακλῆς. *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10.* *Eusebius* mentions likewise one *Dasanaus*, *Chron. Canon. interprete Hieron. ad num. CCCCXCVIII.* which seems to be the same name as the *Dorsanus* of *Herodotus*. Δορσανὺς, ὁ Ἡρακλῆς παρ' Ἰνδοῖς. See *Vossius de Orig. et Progr. Idololatr. Lib. 1. Cap. 22.*

¹ *Numbers. 22. v. 4. 7.*

² *Jos. 13. v. 12.*

bishop ³*Cumberland*; who takes this point for granted, and in consequence of it makes the *Shepherds*, who invaded *Egypt*, *Canaanites*; and builds largely upon this notion. The greatest part of the country of *Canaan* was seized upon by the *Israelites*, and the natives almost extirpated. Those, who remained to the north, were subdued by the king of *Damascus*, and other *Syrian* princes; and the sea coasts were occupied by the sons of *Edom*, as I have shewn. The *Jews* to the last called that part of the country, which they did not possess, *Canaan*; and the people are sometimes termed *Canaanites*. Thus St. *Matthew* mentions ⁴“a woman of *Canaan*, who “cried unto *Jesus*.” But when we come to enquire farther, we find by St. *Mark*, that “the woman was a *Greek*, a *Syrophenician* by nation:” so that she had not the least tincture of the ancient *Canaanitish* blood; but was merely an inhabitant of the country. And although the Apostles do still make mention of the land of *Canaan*, yet they seem industriously to distinguish the coast of *Tyre* and *Sidon* from it: which they call ⁵*Phenice*. We may therefore rest assured, that the *Phenicians*

³ It is true, in the remains of *Sanchohiatho* we are told, that *Cbnaa*, or *Canaan*, was the father of *Phoinix* or the *Phenician*. But it must be considered, that these are not the real words of this writer, but a *Greek* version: where the translator, instead of the word *Canaanite*, which was not familiar to him, has substituted a name with which he was better acquainted. It cannot possibly be supposed that *Sanchohiatho*, when he speaks of *Canaan*, who was the true father of the *Canaanite*, and where he must naturally allude to the patronymic, should go wide of the mark, and term him the father of the *Phenician*: even if we suppose the two names to relate to the same people; which they certainly did not. The sons of *Canaan* are enumerated in *Genesis* chap. 10. v. 15. according to their families; and no such name as *Phenix* or *Phenician* occurs. *Stephanus Byzantinus* mentions the same circumstance, that we find in *Sanchohiatho*; but introduces it with a proper limitation: Χνα· οὕτως ἡ Φοινίκη ἐκαλεῖτο.—Το ἐθνικὸν ταύτης Χναός. This in some degree may be accepted as true.

⁴ Chap. 15. v. 22. *Mark*. 7. v. 26. Γυνὴ Ἑλληνίς, ΣυροΦοινισσα τῷ γένει.

⁵ *Acts*. 11. v. 19. Chap. 15. v. 3. Chap. 21. v. 2, 3. Καὶ εὗροντες πλοῖον διαπερῶν εἰς Φοινίκην, ἐπιβάντες ἀνηχθήμεν. Ἀναφανέντες δὲ τὴν Κυπρον, καὶ

Phenicians were not *Canaanites*. I may be asked in my turn, if the *Phenicians* were from *Edom*, how it comes to pass, that the sacred writers never take notice of this circumstance, nor mention them by either of those names? The answer in this place is obvious. The name *Poinic*, from whence came the word *puniceus* of the *Romans*, the *Φοινίξ* of the *Greeks*, and the name of the *Carthaginians* *Pœnic*, was not the original name of this people, but *Edom*; in the room of which the former was substituted, being a word of the same purport. This however was not the term, which the sacred writers were used to: had they called this people by their family name, it would have been *Edomites*. But this would have been accompanied with some ambiguity; as there would have been two nations of the same name: and with some impropriety; as they were not of that country, though in great measure of the same lineage. They therefore call them always the *Tyrians*, and the *Sidonians*; which was the strict truth, and attended with no uncertainty. As to the silence of the *Scriptures* concerning this people coming originally from *Edom*; it amounts to nothing. The *Scriptures* are never fraught with unnecessary truths: had it been a circumstance at all necessary to have been made known, and of consequence in the *Jewish* history; it would certainly have been transmitted to us.

και καταλιποντες αυτην ευωθυμον, επλεομεν εις Συριαν, και κατηχθημεν εις ΤΤ-
PON. The sea coast only was *Phenicia*; the rest was *Canaan*.

⁶ The history of *Canaan* was very much connected with the history of the *Israelites*: but that of the *Phenicians* had not the same relation; nor was it so necessary to be explained.

which we have shown to have been of various original names of places, that correspond exactly with others in *Edom*, much of which was from the *Canaanites*; there are many comprehended a great part of the country extending to the *Lebanon*. In the list of the tribes of *Israel*, which occur, they occur. In the list of the tribes of *Israel*, which occur, they occur. In the list of the tribes of *Israel*, which occur, they occur.

A FARTHER
ACCOUNT OF THE PLACES,
TO WHICH THE
SHEPHERDS RETREATED.

THE *Cuseans* retiring towards the *Amalekites* and the country of *Edom* gave rise to the tradition, that both these nations had conquered *Egypt*. And so far may have been true, that the former had some share in the conquest; as the *Arab* historians maintain. That the *Cuseans* settled here, and mixed with the nations round about, appears pretty evident from the many places of *Cusean* original, that this part of the world abounds with. I am sensible, there is generally a great fallacy in being determined by a similitude in names; which are often distorted and misapplied, to favour a particular notion. But when they are plain, and in great numbers, and fairly correspond with other places of a different situation; it is a proof, that people of the same lineage or nation must have been resident in the different parts, where they occur. In the lot of the tribe of *Judah*, which comprehended a great deal of the country conquered to the south, (much of which was from the *Amalekites*) there are many names of places, that correspond exactly with others in *Egypt*, which we have shewn to have been of *Arabian* original.

There

There is in the first place to be found the name of the very country, that they had deserted, *Goshen* or *Gushen*; whose true pronounciation, and orthography I supposed was *Cushan*. It lay to the south of *Judah*, not far from mount *Seir*: and among other places taken from the *Amalekites* by the children of *Israel*, this was one. ¹ "So *Joshua* smote all the country " of the hills, and of the south, and of the vale, and of the " springs, and all their kings:—And *Joshua* smote them from " *Kadesh-barnea* even unto *Gaza*, and all the country of *Go-* " *shen*, even unto *Gibeon*." ² "So *Joshua* took all that land, " the hills and all the south-country, and all the land of *Go-* " *shen*,—Even from the mount *Halak*, that goeth up to *Seir*, " even unto *Baal-Gad*." Hence we find, that to the south of *Judea* there was a land of *Goshen*, in the country of the *Amalekites*. That here had been the residence of some people from *Egypt*, may be inferred from the history of the sons of *Simeon*, who were in situation collateral with those of *Judah*. ³ They " went to the entrance of *Gedor*, even unto the east side of the " valley, to seek pasture for their flocks. And they found fat " pasture and good, and the land was wide, and quiet, and peace- " able; for they of *Ham* had dwelt there of old. And these " written by name came in the days of *Hezekiah* king of *Ju-* " *dah*, and smote their tents, &c.—And some of them, even " of the sons of *Simeon*, five hundred men, went to mount " *Seir*,—And they smote the rest of the *Amalekites*, that were " escaped, and dwelt there to this day." By this, I think, it appears, that the people of *Ham* in this passage are reckoned among the *Amalekites*: and " by the residue of the *Amalekites*" is to be understood the remnant of the people of *Ham*. This people I suppose to have been a part of the *Arabian* shepherds or *Cuseans*; who were called the people of *Ham* from their

¹ *Joshua*. 10. v. 40, 41.

² Chap. 11. v. 16.

³ 1 *Chron.* 4. v. 39, &c.

their so long residence in *Egypt*, the original land of *Ham*. Many of those, that retired from *Egypt*, as well as those, that were driven from *Goshen* by *Joshua*, seem to have betaken themselves to the coast of the *Red Sea*; where they occur under the names of *Gasandæ*, *Cassanitæ*, and *Casandres*; as they are described by ⁴*Agatharchides*, *Stephanus* and *Diodorus*. Here they built a city *Aur* or *Oropolis*, changed by the *Greeks* to *Heroum* and *Heroopolis*. They had a second of this name, mentioned by *Stephanus*; *Αυαρα, πολις Αραβιας*: which I take to be the same, that is by ⁵*Josephus* called the city of *Alorus*. It is mentioned by the *Nubian* geographer under the name of *Ara* and ⁶*Aura*; and is called *Avara* (*Αβαρα*) by ⁷*Ptolemy*; and by it's situation appears to have been near to *Midian*. Near this was a city named by *Stephanus* *Βαισαμψα* — *Βαισαμψα, πολις εν τῷ Αραβικῷ κόλπῳ, περι την Ερυθραν Θαλασσαν, ὃ ἐστὶν οἶκος Ἑλίου*. The interpretation shews the true etymology of the word, which should have been expressed *Βαθψαμας*, the same as *Βεθσημες*, *Bethsemesh*, which signifies “the house of the sun.” There was another *Bethsemesh*, in that part of the tribe of *Judah*, which was taken from the *Amalekites*, near the country of *Goshen* above mentioned. ⁸ “And the border

⁴ Τῶν αὐτογειτονέων εἰσὶν Αἰλαῖοι καὶ Κασανδρεῖς. *Agatharchides* de Rubro mari. Geogr. Vet. Vol. i. pag. 60. Κασσανίται, ἔθνος ἐν τῇ παραλίῃ τῆς Ερυθρᾶς Θαλάσσης. *Steph. Byzant.* Ἡ δ' ἐξῆς χώρα κατοικεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ Αραβῶν Αἰλαίων καὶ Γασανδῶν. *Diod. Sic. Lib. 3. pag. 125.* Κασσανιτῶν χώρα is mentioned likewise by *Ptolemy*, Geogr. Lib. 6; and by *Marcianus Heracleota* in *Steph. Byzant.* The original name of the ancient city *Petra* was *Rath-Alilat*; which it still retains. *Sandys's Travels. Book 2.*

⁵ *Joseph. de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.*

⁶ Vide *Climat. 3tii part. 4tam. pag. 107.* *Haura* is mentioned as a *Roman* garrison with a centurion's guard. *Abulfeda*. It is the same as the tower of *Acara* or *Ouc-Aura*; by some said to have been built by *Ishmael*.

⁷ Geogr. Lib. 5.

⁸ *Jos. 15. v. 10.*

“der [of *Judah* to the south] compassed from *Baalab* west-ward unto mount *Seir*, and passed along unto the side of mount *Jearim*, which is *Chesalon*, on the north side, and “went down to *Beth-shemesb*.” Here was likewise *Ain Shemesb* or ⁹*On*, similar to that in *Egypt*; called the “fountain of the “sun,” and situated near to *Elab* and *Midian*: and *Caen*, an *Egyptian* city. Some of these *Cuseans* settled on the coast of the *Red Sea*, somewhat lower; and were the *Arab-Egyptians* of *Ptolemy*. ¹Την δε παρα τον Αραβιον κολπον ὅλην παραλιον κατεχουσιν Αραβαιγυπτιοι, Ιχθυοφαγοι, εν οἷς ορειναι ῥαχεις. The reason of their being called so is obvious: their twofold connection explains it. They inhabited the western coast, as the *Casandæ* of ²*Diodorus* did the eastern. They are represented as a very ancient nation; and their chief port upon that sea was ³*Cous*; which the *Egyptians*, when they long after began to think of commerce, seized upon. This is the ⁴nation that preserved that memorable tradition of the retiring of the *Red Sea*,⁵ and leaving a dry space in the middle: which originally alluded to the miraculous passage of the *Israelites*. All these evidences shew, that the sons of *Chus* settled in these parts; which might have been at several periods; but particularly when they retired from *Egypt*. On the other side they extended them-

⁹ Μετα το εν τῷ Ελανιτῇ μυχώ ὄρειον τῆς Αραβικῆς κολπῆς Οννη, Μοδιανη, κ.τ.λ. *Ptol. Geogr. Lib. 6.*

¹ *Ptol. Geogr. Lib. 4.*

² *Diodorus Sic. Lib. 3. pag. 125.*

³ Of *Cous*, see *Abulfeda*, *Descriptio maris Al Kolzum. Geogr. Vet. Vol. 3. pag. 70.*

⁴ They reached southward from *Clysmā*; at which place the children of *Israel* are supposed to have passed the *Red Sea*. Κλυσμα — δ' ἡ παλαια καὶ το Ἰσραηλιτικὸν φευγοντες τῆς Αἰγυπτιας ἀβροχῶ το ῥειθρου διεπεραιωθησαν ποδι. *Excerpta à Philostorgio, Lib. 3. Cap. 6; apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Edit. Reading. Vol. 3.*

⁵ *Ovington* in his voyage up the *Red Sea* takes notice of *Gezon* in the latitude of 17°; and mentions the kingdom of *Casseen* towards the entrance of the same sea. Captain *Saris* calls it *Cushin*. *Purchas. Vol. 1. pag. 339.*

themselves very far in *Arabia felix*; where may be found many plain vestigia of them. I have observed that lower *Egypt* was termed *Raab* and *Reib*; and sometimes *Aireib*, which signifies the land of *Reib* or *Raab*. The middle part of the country was stiled *Æthreib* and ⁶ *Æthrib*, which is interpreted "the heart" or center of the triangular country," *Cor telluris piriformis*: on which account the center nome, as well as stream, had the name of *Athribis*, and *Athribitic*. These terms are to be found in *Arabia felix*. All the country about *Mecca* and *Medina* is denominated after this manner. *Constantine Porphyrogennetus* acquaints us, that the impious doctrine of *Mahomet* began in the province of *Athribis*: ⁷ Καὶ κατέσχευεν ἡ πονηρὰ πλάνη τε καὶ αἵρεσις αὐτὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθριβῆς. In like manner *Theophanes* in his *Chronicle* describes the rise of the *Mahometan* sect at the same place: ⁸ Καὶ ἐκράτησεν ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθριβῆς, διαπολεμῶν τὸ ἐσχάτον· πρῶτον μὲν κρυπτικῶς ἐτὴ δέκα. And in the *Saracenica* it is said, that, when the emperour *Heraclius* after his *Persian* expedition was passing through *Arabia*, *Mahomet* went out to meet him at *Athribis*. ⁹ Ἐπαναστρέφοντες τὴ βασιλεὺς Ἡρακλεῖς μετὰ νίκης ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν πόλεμος, καὶ μελλόντος αὐτὸς διελθεῖν τὴν Αἰθριβὸν, ἀπαγγέλλει πρὸς ὑπάντησιν αὐτὸν ὁ θεομισθεὶς Μωαμεθ. The name *Athribis* had a meaning; and was well adapted to the part of *Egypt*, that it was originally given to: but between this part of the world and the name that it is mentioned by, there is not the least analogy: which shews that it was adventitious. Whence it was derived, and by whom imported, is, I think, pretty clear. It must have been intro-

⁶ See *Bochart* of the word *Aithrib*, *Geogr. Sacr.* pars prior. Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

⁷ *Constant. Porphy.* de Administr. Imp. Cap. 14. Ἐκράτησεν δὲ ἡ αἵρεσις αὐτὰ τὰ μέρη τῆς Αἰθριβῆς. Ibid. Cap. 17.

⁸ Vide *Byzant. Hist.* Vol. 12. pag. 278. It is the *Ἰαθριπῶνα* of *Stephanus*; called *Ἰαθριπ* in the *Excerpta* from *Chrysococcæ* Syntaxis. *Geogr. Vet.* Vol. 3. pag. 3.

⁹ *Saracenica, incerti auctoris, operâ Sylburgii.* 1595. pag. 58. See also *Cedren. Compend. Historiar.* pag. 422.

introduced by the *Cuseans*, called *Gasandæ* and *Cassanitæ*: those sons of *Cbus*, who came from *Egypt*, and settled upon that side of the *Red Sea*; and carried with them these memorials of their history and nation. *Mahomet* was his self of their race, though perhaps mixed with other families. To obtain favour with the *Jews*, he affected to be descended from *Ishmael*, the son of *Abraham*; the great ancestor of all the *Israelites*. But even as he gives out his genealogy, though the traces may be faint and obscure, we may still perceive that he was of *Cusean* race, as all the *Arabians* were. According to their accounts, there was one *Zenarus*, who was a descendant of *Ishmael*; and he had two sons, *Mundarus* and *Rab*: of which, *Mundarus* is said to have been the father of *Cousarus* and *Caïsus*. ¹ Ζηναρος γαρ ὁ τῆς Ἰσμαηλ απογονος πατήρ αὐτῶν ἀναγορεύεται πάντων. Οὗτος οὖν γεννᾷ υἱοὺς δύο, Μενδαρον καὶ Ραβειαν· ὁ δὲ Μενδαρος τικτεῖ Κουσαρον, καὶ Καῖσον, καὶ ² Θυμιμην, καὶ ³ Ασανδον, καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς ὀμωνυμὰς (ἀνωνυμὰς)· οἱ καὶ τὴν Μαδιανιτὴν ἐρημον κληρωσάμενοι ἐκτηνοτρόφουν, ἐν σκηναῖς κατοικῶντες. The sons of *Ishmael* are well known from the *Mosaic* history; not one of which is to be found in this list, that is given by the *Arabians*. It seems to be an odd and perplexed account of countries, mixed with that of the people, who inhabited them: which confusion has arisen from the *Greek* writers not understanding the histories, to which they had recourse.⁴ Hence *Cyrill* in his *Chronicle* tells

us,

¹ *Constantinus Porpb.* de adm. imp. Cap. 14. περὶ τῆς γενεαλογίας τῆς Μωχμετ. *Cyrillus* calls him Νιζαρος: *Theophanes*, *Cedrenus*, and the author of the *Saracenica* read Νηζαρος and Νιζαρος.

² *Theophanes* has καὶ Θυμιμην; which probably means *Teman*, the name both of a person and a place. Both *Ishmael* and *Esau* had a son of that name.

³ *Ασανδον* may possibly be a mistake for *Γασανδον*; and not the name of a man, but of a nation; the same that is mentioned by *Diodorus*, *Ptolemy* and *Agatharchides*.

⁴ In the *Catechesis et Saracenismi Anathematizatio*, where every thing relating to *Mahomet* is solemnly cursed, among other abominations these are

us, that one of the sons of *Nizarus* was *Arabia*. And in the *Saracenica* we are informed, that *Mahomet* had a son-in-law called *Elim*; and his two grandchildren were *Cushan* and *Casan*. I take *Ασανδος* in *Constantine Porphyrogennetus* to be an omission for *Γασανδος*: and if *Θεμιμην*, the reading of *Theophanes* be right, the meaning of all these histories at bottom will be this: that the inhabitants of *Mecca* and *Medina* were originally descended from a people called of old *Gasandæ*, *Cassan*, *Cushan*, *Cushour*: and from the people of *Teman* and *Elim*, or *Elah* near *Midian*: that is, both from *Cush* and *Ishmael*; but particularly from those *Cuseans*, who came out of *Ραβεια*, or *Egypt*; and named the place, which they came to, *Athribis*.

The sons of *Cbus*, where they once got possession, were never totally ejected. If they were at any time driven away, they returned after a time, and recovered their ground: for which reason I make no doubt, but many of them in process of time returned to *Chaldea*; and mixed with those of their family, who resided there: for many of them remained. Hence arose the tradition that the *Babylonians* not only conquered *Egypt*; but that the learning of the *Egyptians* came originally from *Chaldea*: and the like account from the *Egyptians*; that people from their country had conquered *Babylon*, and that the knowledge of the *Chaldeans* was derived from them. Some of this nation betook themselves northward, and passed into *Padan-Aram*; and in this place, as well as in all others before mentioned, they have maintained them-

are specified: *Αναθεματιζω Αλειμ του επι θυγατρι γαμβρου του Μωαμεδ. και Χασανην και Χουσενην της υιης αυτης.* pag. 77. *Casan* and *Cushan* were not *Mahomet's* sons, but the nation, he was his self descended from. He might be descended in part from *Ishmael*; but he was likewise of the family of *Cbus*; a *Cusean*. *Νιζαρος γεννη υιης δυο Μυυδαρου και Αραβιαν.* *Cyrilli Chron.* I think, it is plain from hence, that the *Greek* historians have been guilty of a great misapplication of terms: and that the names *Caisus*, *Cusharus*, *Cushan*, *Rabeia*, *Arabia*, &c. could never have been the names of particular men; but of provinces and countries, as well as of the tribes, who possessed them.

themselves to this day. Soon after the settling of the *Israelites* in *Canaan*, we read of *Cushan Rishathaim*; who is stiled king of *Mesopotamia*; and must have been a powerful prince, having held the children of *Israel* in subjection many years. His name plainly shews, that he was an *Arabian* or *Cusean*. *Clemens Alexandrinus*⁵ calls him *Χουσαχαρ*, *Chusachar*; which seems to have been a corruption of *Chus Ouc Aur*, or *Orus*; a name assumed by many of his family. ⁶*Eutychius* says, that he was king of *Tyre* and *Sidon*: he held them perhaps tributary, as he did the rest of the land of *Canaan*. He must have trespassed upon the sons of *Aram* very much; who seem to have retired, and to have left him the upper part of the interamnian province. The people, whom he carried with him, were undoubtedly the colony, which *Belus* is said in early times to have brought out of *Egypt*, and planted on the banks of the ⁷*Euphrates*. *Belus* was rather a title, than a name; and was bestowed upon many illustrious persons of *Affyria*, *Babylonia*, *Syria*, *Phenicia*, *Egypt*. To this *Cushan*, and his people, we must attribute the building of the city ⁸*Ur* in these parts; called *Urboë*, and sometimes *Abor* and *Chabor*. It stood upon a river of the same name, the *Αβωρα* of

⁵ Strom. Lib. 1. pag. 384. Edit. Potter. The *Chaldee Paraphrast* calls him "the wicked *Cusean*."

⁶ *Eutychii Annales*. Tom. 1. pag. 118.

⁷ *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 1. pag. 17. says, that *Belus* carried this colony to *Babylon*; and that they were the same people, who were called afterwards *Chaldeans*. But this is an idle appendage to the true history; yet shews the antiquity of the history. If any nation in the world could be called *αυτοχθονες*, it was the nation of the *Chaldeans*: and so far from being a colony from *Egypt*, they were coeval with that kingdom, if not some years prior to it. See Additional Remarks. The colony here spoken of was indeed from *Egypt*; but did not consist of *Egyptians*, but *Cuseans*.

⁸ *Marcellinus* mentions this city *Ur* in *Mesopotamia*, in the retreat of *Jovian* towards *Nisibis*. *Ad, Ur nomine, Persicum venere Castellum*. Lib. 25. Cap. 8.

of ⁹ *Zofimus*, and the *Αἰγῶς* of ¹ *Isidorus Characenus*: which river is called the *Chabor* ² at this day. They built likewise *Carchemish*, a strong place at the chief passage of the *Euphrates*, and at the mouth of the *Chabor*: which city betrays it's original doubly, by the variation observed in it's name. It was called both ³ *Carchemish*, and *Carcusium*. The first is the city of *Chemmis* or *Cham*; answering to a city of the same name and purport in *Egypt*. By the other is meant the city of *Chus*: *Cercusium* and *Carcusium*, the *Karkisiya* of ⁴ *Nasir Ettusæus*, being no other than *Carcushan*; and probably built in memory of that city, of which we have taken so much notice. The prophet *Jeremiah* ⁵ mentions, that *Pharaoh Necho* came up against *Carchemish*, which *Nebuchadnezzar* had taken. It seems by this to have been for some time before in the hands of the *Egyptians*; who gave it, I imagine, the name of *Carchemish*. It was originally called *Carcush*, or *Carcushan*; which name it again recovered. Here too was a land of *Goshen*; called by the sacred writers *Gozan*, and by the *Romans* *Gausanitis*; with a river *Gozan*, the same as the *Chabor*. The other

⁹ *Zofimus*. Lib. 3. pag. 12.

¹ *Isidor. Charac.* apud *Vet. Geogr.* Vol. 3. pag. 4.

² *Voyage of Gaspar Balbi.* 1579.

³ *Karkestam, quæ olim Carcemis dicebatur, deveni. Euphratis ripæ imminet. Benj. Tudelensis.* pag. 62. *Postea [Euphrates labitur] ad Cqercusiam; ibique cernitur ostium fluminis Alchabur. Nubiensis.* See also *Marcellin.* Lib. 23. Cap. 5. *Bockart Geogr. Sac.* pars prior. Lib. 4. Cap. 21. and *Cellarius*, Vol. 2. pag. 437. There was another city named *Abor* and *Chabor*; which is mentioned by *Ptolemy*, as well as by *Simocatta*, Lib. 4. Cap. 10. *Αἰγοῦν Φερσιον.* But I take this by it's situation to have been the same as *Carchemish*, called by the *Greeks* and *Romans* *Cercusium*; a place of great note and antiquity, as I have shewn: which *Ptolemy* can hardly be supposed to have omitted; but rather to have called it by another name, taken from the river, at the mouth of which it stood. The real city *Chabor* was far above; near the source of the river, to which it gave name, as well as to a lake, out of which the river issued. It's true name was *Ur*, synonymous to that in *Chaldea*; but was changed to *Abor* and *Chabor*, like the city *Avaris* in *Egypt*. See *1 Chron.* 5. v. 26.

⁴ *Vide Geogr. Veter.* Vol. 3.

⁵ *Jerem.* 46. v. 2.

other river in *Mesopotamia*, called by *Ptolemy* the *Saocoras*, was probably the *Seghor*, or *Sebor*; which was the name of the *Nile* in *Egypt*. All these circumstances prove that the sons of *Chus* forced themselves very early into the upper provinces of *Mesopotamia*, and maintained themselves therein. And there is great reason to think, that they were part of that numerous body, which retired out of *Egypt*. This may serve to clear up the doubts of the learned *Marsham*, who could not account for the place of their retreat: ⁶ *Quò tandem profecti sint Pastores, aut quibus in locis sedes posuerint, incertum est.*

In this country were the tribes of *Israel* placed; at least a great part of them, who were carried away captive by *Salmanasser*. ⁷ "In the ninth year of *Hoshea*, the king of *Assyria* "took *Samaria*, and carried *Israel* away into *Assyria*, and "placed them in *Halab* and in *Habor* by the river of *Gozan*, "and in the cities of the *Medes*." *Halab* and *Habor*, called likewise *Chala* and *Chabor*, were, as I have in part shewn, in the upper region of *Mesopotamia* between the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*; both upon the river *Gozan*, called likewise the *Chabor*: the cities of the *Medes* were beyond. There was something very signal in the catastrophe of these tribes, that were carried into the country, which I have been describing. It is well known, how the *Israelites* after their servitude in *Egypt* were conducted to the land of promise; which they enjoyed above seven hundred years. Upon their repeated rebellion and idolatry, ten of the tribes were carried into a second bondage: and what is remarkable, many of them went to another land of *Goshen*; but not like that of old: to another city *Avaris*; and in succession to the same people, to whom their fathers had succeeded in *Egypt*, even the *Cuseans*. Their captivity was attended with this cruel circumstance, that they went now to a wild and uncultivated country: and had the mor-

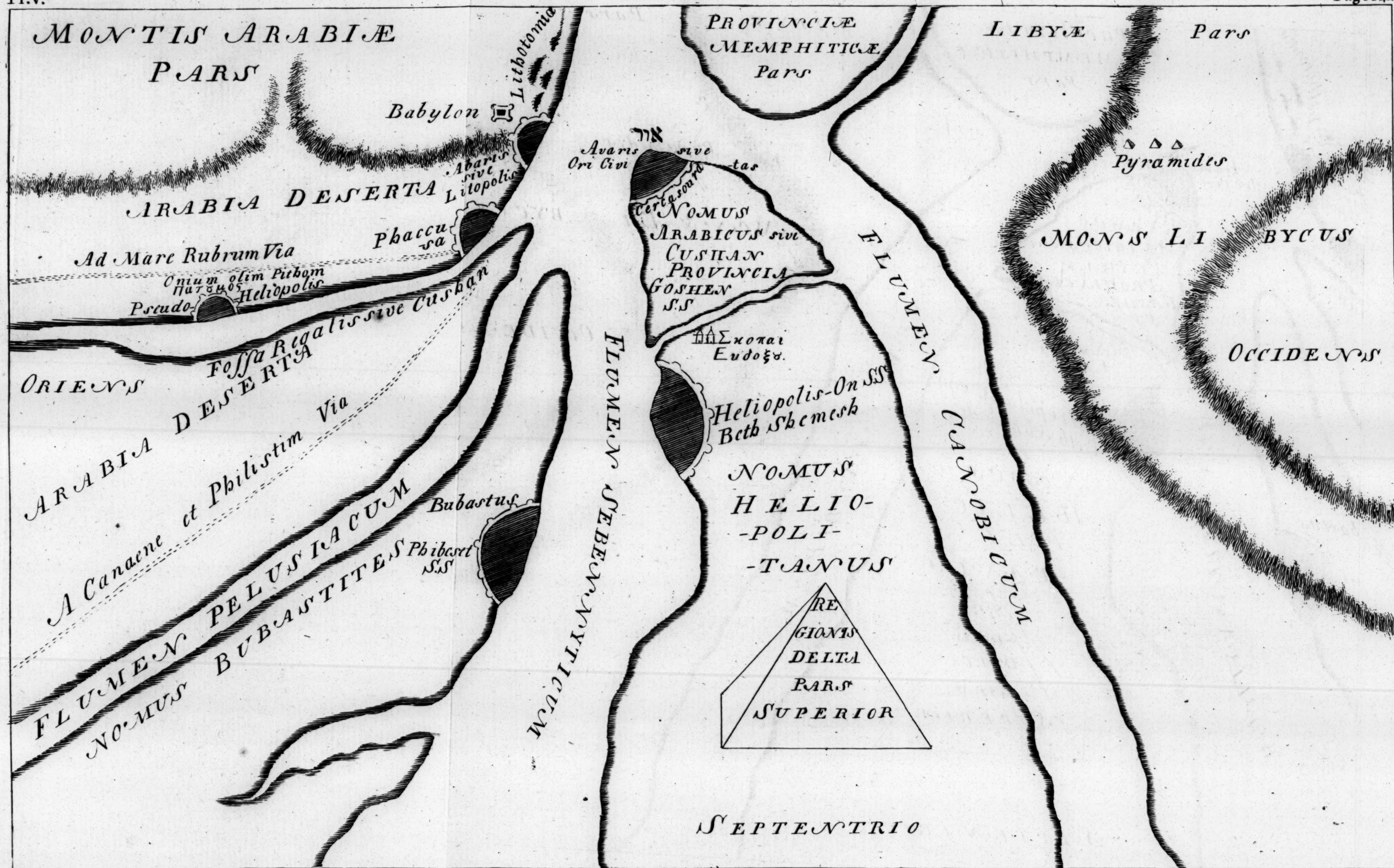
⁶ Ad Sec. XII. pag. 324.

⁷ 2 Kings 17. v. 6. Chap. 18. v. 11. 1 Chron. 5. v. 26.

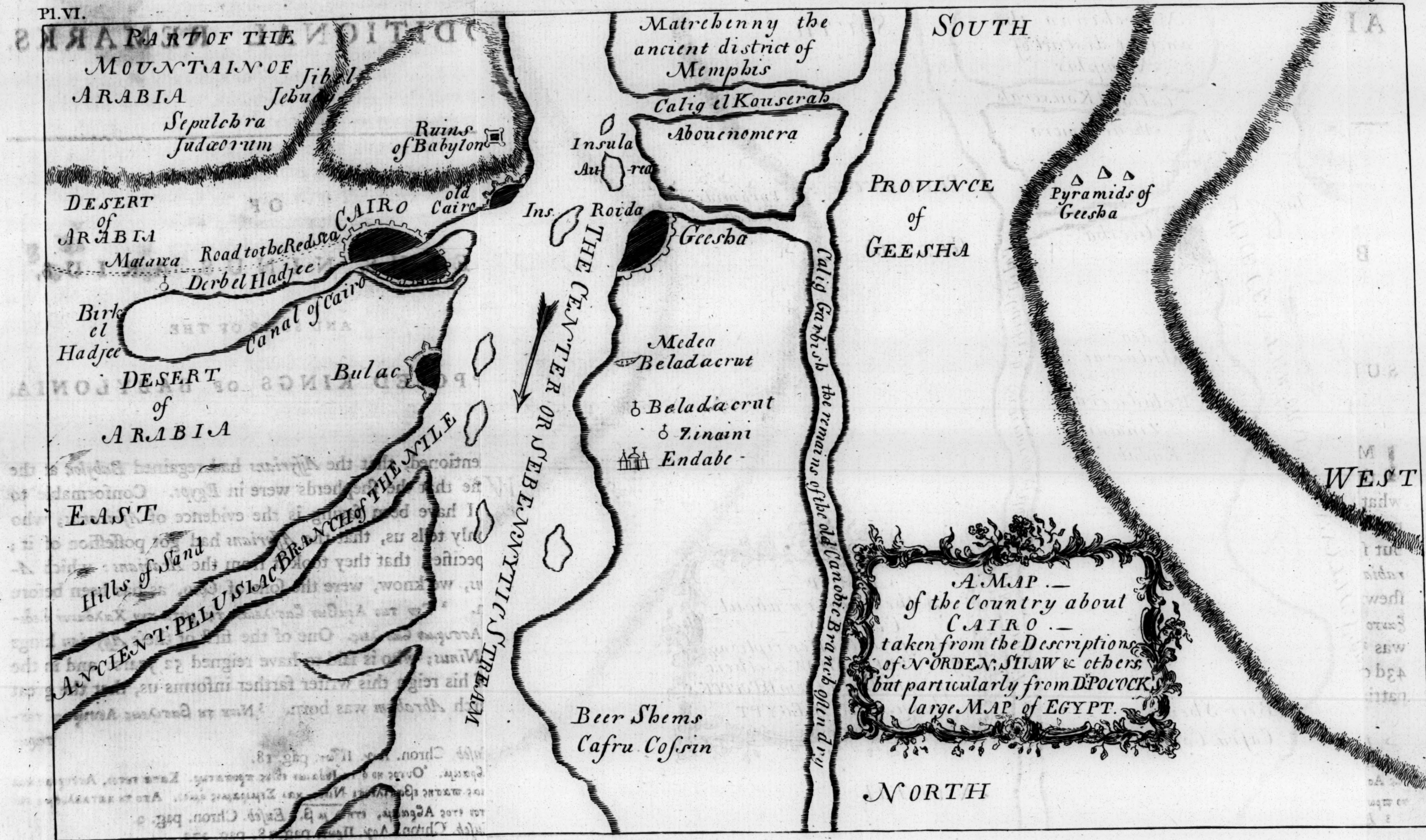
mortification to see the people, who had quitted it, occupy the pleasant fields of *Israel*. ⁸“ The king of *Affyria* brought “ men from *Babylon*, and from *Cuthab*, and from *Ava*, and “ from *Hamath*, and from *Sepharvaim*, and placed them in “ the cities of *Samaria*:—and they possessed *Samaria*, and “ dwelt in the cities thereof.” Here was every additional circumstance, to aggravate their misfortune, and embitter their servitude: to bring to their memory continually what they had been, and what they now were: to point out visibly the finger of God in the peculiar sufferings of such a reprobate people: and at the same time to alarm the remaining tribes; that they might take warning at the sight of such particular judgements, and recollect themselves in good time.

Thus have I endeavoured to clear up some parts of ancient history, particularly that which relates to the land of *Goshen*, and the *Shepherd Kings*: a work of some consequence, if rightly conducted; but attended with no small difficulty, and requiring uncommon attention. Were a person to meet with the remains of an ancient tessellated pavement, shattered into a thousand pieces, and to endeavour to reduce it to order; his labour would be similar to that of rectifying the chronology, and history of *Egypt*. The latter task is accompanied with this additional trouble; that, as many have been from time to time tampering with this work, the materials, originally ill-placed, have been ten times more confounded; and many of them rejected and abolished by persons, who could not adapt them to their particular system.

⁸ 2 *Kings* 17. v. 24.



Pl. VI.



h

ADDITIONAL REMARKS.

OF

BELUS, NINUS, ARIUS,

AND SOME OF THE

SUPPOSED KINGS OF BABYLONIA.

I Mentioned, that the *Assyrians* had regained *Babylon* at the time that the shepherds were in *Egypt*. Conformable to what I have been saying is the evidence of *Africanus*; who not only tells us, that the *Assyrians* had got possession of it; but specifies, that they took it from the *Arabians*: which *Arabians*, we know, were the sons of *Chus*, as has been before shewn. ¹ Την των Αραβων βασιλειαν την μετα την Χαλδαιων διεδεξαντο Ασσυριων βασιλεις. One of the first of these *Assyrian* kings was ²*Ninus*; who is said to have reigned 52 years: and in the 43d of his reign this writer farther informs us, that the great patriarch *Abraham* was born. ³ Νινε τε βασιλεως Ασσυριων τεσσαρ-

¹ *Euseb. Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 18.*

² Αβρααμ. Ουτος ην ο τε Ιουδαιων εθνους προπατωρ. Κατα τετον, Ασσυριας και της Ασιας πασης εβασιλευσε Νινος, και Σεμιραμις ομου. Απο τε κατακλυσματος επι το πρωτον ετος Αβρααμ, ετη λ μ β. *Euseb. Chron. pag. 9.*

³ *Euseb. Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 18. pag. 373.*

σαρακός ον τρίτον αχούτος ετος της βασιλείας, γενναται Αβραάμ. From whence we may be farther assured, of what I before supposed, about *Arioch Melech Ellasar*. For if *Abraham* was born in the latter part of the reign of *Ninus*; the time of *Arius*, the fourth in the dynasty of *Africanus*, coincides with that of *Arioch* in the Scriptures: so that they are certainly the names of the same person. And the reign of this prince will be found to commence about the 88th or 89th year of the life of *Abraham*, about three years after the birth of *Ishmael*. But according to the Scripture account, this invasion, made by the four kings, seems to have been a year or two prior to this event; if we may judge from the place, where it is introduced: so that we cannot in these distant inquiries arrive at exact chronological precision. Yet I think, as these circumstances are brought to coincide so nearly, nobody can well doubt, but that *Arioch Melech Ellasar*, and *Arius* king of *Nineve*, are the same person. Archbishop *Usher* makes this war happen about the seventy first year of *Abraham's* life; but this is rather too early, as it does not quite agree with the account in the Scriptures: for this invasion of the kings was made, when *Abraham* was in the land of *Canaan*; and he did not reside there, till he was seventy five years old. According to Bp. *Cumberland*, *Zames* began to reign in the fortieth year

⁴ *Abraham* was born according to *Africanus* in the 43d year of *Ninus*. From the 43d of *Ninus* to the time of his death are nine years. And as *Semiramis* is supposed to have reigned 42 years, and *Zames* after her 38; the total amount is 89 years, which is the term of *Abraham's* life when *Arioch* begins to reign. *Primus Assyriorum rex Ninus, Beli filius: regnavit Asia exceptis Indis, annos LII, cujus XLIII imperii anno natus est Abraham.* Euseb. Chron. Hieron. Interprete. pag. 11.

Βασιλεις Ασσυριων ex *Africano* apud *Euseb.* Histor. Συναγωγ. pag. 356.

Βηλος	νε
Νινος	νβ
Σεμιραμις	μβ
Νινυας	} λη
Ζαμης	
Αριος.	

year of *Abraham*: and as he reigned 38 years, the time of *Arius* commences in the 78th year of the said patriarch: which gives room for every thing relating to that prince to correspond with the Scripture account of *Arioch*. *Africanus* instead of *Ninus*, makes *Belus*, his supposed father, the first *Assyrian* king, who reigned at *Babylon*: and the great *Scaliger* agrees with him entirely, and implicitly follows his canon,

5 Την των Αραβων βασιλειαν την μετα την Χαλδαιων διεδεξαντο Ασσυριων βασιλεις, διαρκεσαντες απο τε πρωτε αυτων Βηλε, εως τε Θωνε Κον-
κολερε, τε και Σαρδαναπαλε. Upon which *Scaliger* remarks —

6 *Ante Belum Arabes in Babyloniâ, ante illos Chaldæi ibidem regnum obtinuerunt: et ut Chaldæos Arabes, sic illos Assyrii de regni possessione deturbarunt. &c.* I have mentioned, that *Belus* was not a name of any particular person; but a title assumed by many, and of different nations. And, if *Belus* were a king; yet this, I believe, would be the only place in history, where he is made the conqueror of *Babylonia*, as *Scaliger* supposes. It is contrary to the uniform evidence of *Ctesias*, *Diodorus*, *Trogus*, *Paterculus*, and many other historians, who ascribe the conquest of that city to *Ninus*. 7 *Νινος* — εστρατευσε μετα πολλης δυναμειως επι Βαβυλωνιης. It is contrary to what 8 *Africanus* himself, and *Eusebius* after him, intimate in other parts of the history, that they have left us: where *Belus* is omitted in the list of *Assyrian* princes, which commences with *Ninus*; of whom it is there said, τετον πρωτον φασιν απασης της Ασιας, πλην Ινδων, κεκρατηκεναι.

But there is a farther mistake in this account of *Africanus*, as it is transmitted to us by *Eusebius*, *Syncellus*, and others; such as must necessarily take off from that implicit regard, which

5 *Euseb. Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 18.*

6 *Jos. Scalig. Can. Isagog. Lib. 3. pag. 319.*

7 *Diod. Sic. Lib. 2. pag. 90.*

Πρωτος δε των εις ιστοριαν και μνημην παραδεδομενων Νινος ο βασιλευς των Ασσυριων. Ibid.

Primus omnium Ninus, rex Assyriorum, &c. Justin. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.

8 *Euseb. Chron. Canon. pag. 89. Histor. Συναγωγη. pag. 356.*

which *Scaliger* thinks should be paid to him. Before the taking of *Babylon* by the *Affyrians*, he supposes two dynasties of kings to have reigned there; the first of *Chaldeans* 224 years, the latter of *Arabians* 216. In the first place, these dynasties are absolutely fictitious. No such kings reigned in the times, that are here specified; as I will shew hereafter. And as to the two nations in this place mentioned, and distinguished; they were certainly the same people, and of the same original. For the *Chaldeans* here introduced may be proved to have been *Arabians*, even upon the evidence of these writers. The list is as follows;

<i>Chaldean kings of Babylon.</i>	<i>Reigned Years.</i>	<i>Arabian kings who succeeded.</i>	<i>Reigned Years.</i>
<i>Evechoos</i>	6	<i>Mardocentes</i>	45
<i>Chomasbolus</i>	7	<i>Sifimadochus</i>	28
<i>Porus</i>	35	<i>Gabius</i>	37
<i>Necobis</i>	43	<i>Parannus</i>	40
<i>Abius</i>	48	<i>Nabonnabus</i>	25
<i>Oniballus</i>	40		
<i>Zinzirus</i>	45		
	224		216

Who were the original *Arabians*, but the sons of *Chus*, as I have before proved? and who stand in the front of this list of *Chaldean* princes, but the heads of the *Cusean* family? The first in the detail is *Evechoos*; which name, though a little varied, signifies "the great lord *Chus*." This person, I know not why, is by many supposed to have been ⁹*Nimrod*: and, misled by this notion, somebody (for I know not to whom the mistake

⁹ *Cedrenus* has copied this notion. pag. 11. Edit. Par. Εκαλειτο δε ο Νεβρωδ και Ευηχοος. *Perizonius* is much dissatisfied with *Vossius* for not being of the same opinion. *Jac. Perizon. Orig. Babylonicæ.* pag. 326.

mistake is originally to be attributed) has presumed to rectify the only thing in the list, which did not want amendment; and to transpose the order of these princes. 'Οι Χαλδαιοι πρωτοι ανηγορευσαν εαυτους βασιλεις, ων πρωτος Ευηχοος, ο παρ' ημιν Νευρωδ, εβασιλευσεν.

Ευηχοος	ετη 5
Χομασβολος	ζ
Πωρος	λε
Νεχωβις	μγ
Αβιος	μη
Ονιβαλλος	μ
Ζινζιρος	με

“ The *Chaldeans* were the first who stiled themselves kings : “ the first of which was *Evechous*, whom we call ‘*Nimbrod*.” Whoever compiled these dynasties, has introduced as first what originally stood second ; mistaking *Cbus* for *Nimbrod*, the father for the son : and by this means he has well nigh ruined the only part of the history, that is genuine. The order was undoubtedly thus :

Χομασβολος	<i>Chomasbolus</i>
Ευηχοος	<i>Evechous</i>
Πωρος	<i>Porus</i>

It is an account of the genealogy of *Ham* and *Cbus* ; and, as it would insinuate, of the *Cusean* princes, who were descended from them. The first *Chomasbolus*, or, as it should be read, *Chamasbolus*, is *Ham*, the principal of the line. *Ham*, or, as he is often called, *Cham*, signifies “ swart, black, sunburnt :” and *asbolus* in the *Greek* is of the same purport ; and was at first intended for a translation of the former. *Eupolemus*, as quoted by *Alexander Polyhistor*, mentions that *Cham* was called so. ² Χουμ — ον υπο Ελληνων λεγεσθαι Ασβολον, πατερα των Αιθιο-

πων.

¹ See Universal Hist. Vol. 1. pag. 945.

² *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. Lib. 9. Cap. 17.

παν. κ. τ. λ. These two *Africanus*, or the person he copied from, has blended together, and constituted the strange name, that is before us. The next in succession is *Euechous*, "the great *Cbus*," the son of the former. He is at times called *Euechous*, *Quachus*, *Ochus*; as we find his name represented in many of his posterity, who were called from him: of which term of honour I have made ample mention. The third king is Πωρος, *Porus*: which seems to be somewhat grecified. It is derived from πυρ, fire; from whence came the Greek word πυρ: which has been the reason of the initial letter being here prefixed; though there may be found, I believe, some instances among the *Cuseans*, where it has been written in the same manner. It is the same as *Orus*, named sometimes *Alorus*; and what the first king of *Babylon* was called by. In short, this is *Nimbrod*, the son of *Cbus*, the son of *Ham* or *Asbolus*; whom *Africanus*, and those that copied him, have been so mistaken about. He is third in descent in *Genesis*; and he is third in this dynasty. He is represented as a powerful monarch, of great renown, and the founder of the city *Babylon*. After his death he was deified by his people, and worshipped under the name of *Alorus*; but by the *Greeks* was called *Orion*. Εγεννηθη δε και αλλας εκ της φυλης τε Χαμ, Χες ονοματι, ο Αιθιοψ, ος εις εγεννησε τον Νεμβρωδ γιγαντα, τον την Βαβυλωνιαν κτισαντα, ον λεγουσιν οι Περσαι αποθεωζεντα, και γενομενον εν τοις αστροις τε ουρανυ, ον τινα καλουσιν Ωριωνα. He first instituted among the *Chaldeans* the worship of fire. Such is the history of *Ham*, and his two immediate descendants.

But,

³ *Plato* in *Cratylus* says the Greek word πυρ is of barbarian original; that is, says *Gale*, from the *Hebrew* חַיִּל.

⁴ Παρα μεν Χαλδαιοις πρωτος ο αρχας αυτων Αλωρος. *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 23.

⁵ In the original it is, εκ της φυλης τε Σημ. *Chron. Pasch.* p. 36.

⁶ Ουτος πρωτος διδασκει Ασσυρις σεβειν το πυρ. *Chron. Pasch. ex Clementinis.* pag. 29. But this is a mistake; and the *Assyrians* are improperly put for the *Babylonians*; who in these times were a very different people, and ought to be distinguished.

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But, although the three first upon the list may be thus made out, and confirmed; it must not be imagined, that the rest are equally genuine, and to be admitted. They are certainly supposititious, being taken from a dynasty of much later date; but so changed and abridged, that they have hitherto passed undiscovered. Whatever high antiquity they may pretend to, they relate to the list of *Babylonian* and *Assyrian* kings, who reigned from *Nabonasser*; as they are to be found in *Eusebius* and *Syncellus*: but more correctly in *Ptolemy's* astronomical 7 canon. I will therefore take a copy of those kings from *Ptolemy*; and will place the names of the ten kings in the supposed *Chaldean* and *Arabian* dynasties by them, as they seem to correspond: and they will be found to be the same.

Babylonian kings.

Chaldean and *Arabian* kings.

Salmanasser or *Nabonasser*

Nadius, *Nabius* of *Euseb.*

Chinzirus and *Porus*

Jugæus

Mardoc Empadus

Arkianus

Interreg.

Belibius

Apronadius

Aporanidifus of *Syncell.*

Aparanadifus of *Euseb.*

Rigabelus

Erigebelus of *Euseb.*

Mesessimordacus

Interreg.

Affar Addinus

Saosducheus

Abius and *Gabius*

Zinzirus and *Porus*

Mardocentes

Parannus

Oniballus

Sifimadochus

Sifimardochus of *Syncell.*

Cby-

7 *Ptolemy's* Canon published by Dr. Bainbridge at Oxford. *Eusebii* Histor. *Συναγωγ.* pag. 397.

*Babylonian kings.**Chaldean and Arabian kings.**Chyniladanus**Nobopallassar**Nabocassarus**Nobochodonosor of Euseb.**Nechobis**Ilvarodamus**Niricassolassar**Nabonadius**Nabonabus*

We may observe, that though the second list be defective and somewhat varied, yet, as far as it goes, it corresponds with the dynasty of *Ptolemy*; and relates to princes of a much later date, than is pretended. It is therefore surprising, that so many very learned men should admit both the dynasties into their histories; and not perceive, that the one was a bad copy of the other. The greatest wonder is, that so knowing and inquisitive a genius, as *Scaliger*, should have been imposed upon by this idle account of *Chaldean* and *Arabian* kings; and that he should, upon the demise of these, make an union of the two kingdoms, place *Belus* at the head, and thence constitute a mighty empire, that never had a being.

⁸ *Ultimo hoc Rege debellato, Belus anno xxvii imperii sui Assyriorum imperium cum Babylonio conjunxit.* The admission of these reigns into chronological computation, with that of *Belus*, who never existed, makes an error of 443 years. These supposed ancient kings of *Babylonia* are in reality the successors to *Pul* and *Tiglath-pulasser*; and have been taken from a very faulty and imperfect copy of the latter. At the same time the names of *Ham*, *Chus*, and *Porus*, have been prefixed; to make the list more specious, and to give it a seeming antiquity. From the reign of *Pul* of *Assyria* some light may be obtained, in prosecuting the history of these kingdoms: but antecedent to this monarch, we have little more than the names of *Assyrian* kings; of which scarce any have been so preserved by tradition, that they

⁸ *Scalig. Canon. Isagog. Lib. 2. pag. 137.*

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they may now be depended upon. As to the princes of *Babylon*, between *Amraphel* and *Nabonasser*, few memorials are left in an interval of at least twelve hundred years. The names of those, which have been transmitted to us, have been discovered to be for the most part spurious, or else of a later date.

SOME REMARKS

ON THE

CANON OF PTOLEMY.

THE canon of *Ptolemy*, which I have just spoken of, has been universally received, and esteemed particularly authentick: yet even this, I think, however celebrated, is not without exception. The learned chronologer, when he compiled it, seems to have detected the fallacy of the *Chaldean* and *Arabian* list; and to have found it an imperfect copy of a series of princes, who reigned many ages later. He therefore corrected, and new modelled the catalogue according to the best evidence of the times, which it related to: and ascribed to every king the just number of years, that history allotted to his reign, from *Nabonasser* downwards. In effecting this, he struck off the two first upon the other list, *Cham-*

asbolus and *Evechous*, as he knew that they were rather the heads of a family than princes; and of undoubted antiquity. They could not therefore be inserted in this latter series. But falling into the common error, and mistaking *Evechous* for *Nimbrod*, that is, as I before said, the father for the son, he has still retained one too many; and brought down *Porus* with the others, who should have been left with the two preceding. His embarrassment in consequence of this is very apparent: for there is no place for this supernumerary to be inserted in, without violating the order established, and contradicting some part of history. There is indeed some reason to think, that the catalogue was too much crowded before. *Porus* therefore could have no interval assigned him; but stands always collateral with *Chinzirus*; and is never found in succession like the rest. He is certainly foreign to the list; and the place he really belongs to, I have shewn before. *Ptolemy* however did not act unwittingly in joining him with *Chinzirus*: though he is far separated in the spurious list above mentioned. There was some intimation, some authority, that determined him in thus placing them together. Whether he was aware of any relation, that subsisted between them, I know not: but there is reason to think, that they were the same person. I have mentioned from *Theopbanes*, *Cyrellus*, and *Cedrenus*, a person of antient times, whom they term *Nizarus*; but by *Constantine Porphyrogenetus* he is called *Zenarus*, and is supposed to have been the head of the *Arabian* families. He is the same as the *Zinzirus*, and *Chinzirus* in these lists; and more truly called *Chenarus*. It was a title rather than a name, as I have observed of other antient appellations; and was given to several kings in the first ages, but especially to *Nimbrod*: so that it creates a suspicion that *Chinzirus*, as well as *Porus*, should be removed from the canon of *Ptolemy*.

* *Chenarus* king of *Egypt*. It is sometimes put for *Chan-Orus*, sometimes for *Chan-Arez*.

as he knew that they were rather the heads of a family than princes; and of undoubted antiquity. They could not therefore be inserted in this latter series. But falling into the common error, and mistaking Boetius for

OF THE
CHALDEANS,

AND THEIR

ORIGINAL.

I Have shewn, that the distinction made by *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and others, between *Chaldean* and *Arabian* kings, is void of all foundation: and, were the list, that they produce, genuine, it would determine the point against them. All that can be esteemed true in the series, they produce, is the names of those, who are foremost in the list. And, however mistaken they may have been in those that follow; yet, setting them aside, we may learn, in respect to the *Chaldeans*, what was the opinion of these writers, and what tradition had taught them; that *Ham*, *Chus*, and *Nimbrod* were the heads of this nation. And as the *Chaldeans* were the most antient inhabitants of the country called by their name; there are no other principals, to whom we may refer their original. They seem to have been the most early constituted, and settled, of any people upon earth: and from their situa-

¹ The *Chaldeans* were as ancient as the empire of *Babylonia*, which commenced under *Nimbrod*, or *Alorus* — Εκ των Απολλοδώρου. Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Βηρώστος ἱστορήσε, πρῶτον γενεσθαι βασιλεῶν Ἀλῶρου ἐκ Βαβυλωνος. *Euseb. Chron. Δογ. Πρωτ. pag. 5.*

tion it appears, and from every other circumstance, that *Chus* was the head of their family, and *Nimbrod* their first king.² They seem to have been the only people, that did not migrate at the general dispersion: and the center of their province was at *Ur*, not far from the conflux of the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*. From hence they extended themselves under the names of *Cushites* and *Arabians*, as far as *Egypt* west, and eastward to the *Ganges*; occupying to the south all the *Asiatic* seacoast, and the whole of the large continent of *Arabia*: and from thence they passed the *Erythrean* gulf, and penetrated into *Ethiopia*. They were continually incroaching upon those, that were nearest to them; and even trespassed upon their own brotherhood. In process of time they got full possession of *Egypt*, and the whole coast of *Africa* upon the *Mediterranean* even to the *Atlantic* ocean, as far as *Fez* and *Taffilet*: and are to be found within the tropics almost as low as the *Gold coast*. Upon the *Gambia* is the king of *Barsally*, of *Arabian* extraction, as are all the *Phooley* nations; who retain their original language, and are of the religion of *Mahomet*. One of these, *Job Ben Solomon* by name, was not many years since in *England*. He had been unjustly seized on by a prince, his neighbour, and carried to *America*, where he was sold for a slave: but writing an affecting account of his misfortune in his native tongue, it raised the curiosity, as well as pity, of some persons of consequence in these parts; who redeemed him, and sent for him³ over; and having shewn him singular marks of favour, at his request dispatched him to his own country.

² *Syncellus*. pag. 50.

³ He came to *England* in 1730.—See *Moore's Travels* into the inner parts of *Africa*.

OF

been

² *Gen.* 11. v. 29. 31.

⦿ This notion of *Chesed* giving name to the *Chaldeans* is exactly similar to the account before mentioned of *Amalek* the son of *Eliphaz*, the supposed

been still later? The learned *Hyde* tells us, that it was spoken proleptically. The *Greeks* indeed, who often called people, and countries by names, which were not applicable to them till many ages after the time in question, made use of a very plausible and convenient figure, by which they thought to atone for a multitude of mistakes. Yet this misapplication of terms was an error, however rhetorically they might defend it: and such as is seldom to be found in the sacred writers. *Moses* is ever particularly careful to certify and distinguish: and has just been giving an exact detail of the descendants of *Noah*, after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations. It is therefore injurious to imagine the sacred writer guilty of an unnecessary anticipation: and we take off greatly from the peculiar excellence of the *Mosaic* history, which upon examination turns out so wonderfully precise and true, by making so unfair a supposition. Besides, it would not in this place be merely a rhetorical figure: it really would not be true. The words of *Moses* are not at large, that *Haran* died in *Chaldea*; but descriptive, that he died in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*. And the Apostle tells us, that ⁴“he came from the land of the *Chaldees*.” There must therefore have been at that time people of such denomination: otherwise we have a nation referred to, which did not exist: and this we can hardly suppose. In short, the *Chasdim* are no other than the *Chusdim*, the sons of *Chus*; who first took possession of the country, which we have been speaking of; and likewise held *Babylon*. All history, which treats of these early times bears evidence to this. ⁵

They posed father of the *Amalekites*; where, for the sake of a name, a whole series of history is set aside. There is no accounting for this infatuation, with which so many learned men have been possessed.

⁴ *Acts*. 7. v. 4.

⁵ Sure there never was introduced into writing a figure so fatal as this *prolepsis*: there is nothing can withstand it: no evidence is so plain and positive,

They sent out numerous tribes and colonies, which were styled *Cuseans* and *Arabians*. *Africanus* and his followers did not consider this in the list they have given of *Babylonish* kings. For finding those princes called sometimes *Arabians*, and sometimes *Chaldeans*; and not knowing that by these terms one and the same nation was meant, they made an unfortunate distinction; and in the supposed dynasty, with which they have presented us, they have made a division to the best of their judgement, and given a share to each. Herein they were mistaken: but this does not invalidate their testimony in respect to the chief point. *Babylon* was certainly in the possession of the *Chaldeans*: and though the names of the kings, as they are transmitted by *Africanus*, be not genuine; yet a dynasty of kings did exist. They were moreover de-

scend-
positive, no authority so indisputable, but it is liable to be set aside. If any proof or authority could have had weight, I should have thought the following would have prevailed.

Abraham primam aetatem apud Chaldaeos agebat. Euseb. Chron. Hieron. Interprete. pag. 9.

Οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πρῶτοι ἀνηγορεύσαν ἑαυτοὺς βασιλεῖς ὡν πρῶτος Εὐνοχὸς. Euseb. Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 14.

Παρά μὲν Χαλδαίοις πρῶτος ὁ ἀρχαῖος αὐτῶν Ἀλῶρος. Chron. Pasch. pag. 23.

Τῷ βίῳ εἶπε τὸ κοινὸν οἱ Χαλδαῖοι πρῶτον ἀνηγορεύσαν ἑαυτοὺς βασιλεῖς. Syn-cellus. pag. 90.

Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐγέννησεν ἐν γῇ Χαλδαιῶν. Theophilus ad Autol. Lib. 2. of the tower of *Babel*, and the dispersion of mankind.

Ἀβραάμ — τὴν πρῶτην ἡλικίαν παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ποιεῖται. Euseb. Epit. Chron. pag. 228.

The same is said in the *Pasch. Chron.* pag. 49.

Ἐκ τῶν ἀπολλωδωρῶν Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Βηρωσσὸς ἰσόρησε πρῶτον γενέσθαι βασιλεῖα Ἀλῶρον ἐκ Βαβυλωνος Χαλδαιῶν. Euseb. Chron. Λογ. Πρωτ. pag. 5.

Add to these, what I have mentioned from the Scripture; that "*Haran* died in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*:" that "*Abraham* and his family went forth from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*;" *Gen.* 11. v. 28. 31. "God brought *Abraham* out of *Ur* of the *Chaldees*." *Nehemiah* 9. v. 7. "*Abraham* came out of the land of the *Chaldeans*." *Acts* 7. v. 4.

These are strong proofs of the most early existence of the *Chaldean* nation: all which are set aside for the sake of one *Chesed*, a person never mentioned till the 140th year of *Abraham*: which *Chesed* was born at *Haran* in *Mesopotamia*, and was never, that we know of, in *Chaldea*; nor had he any connection with it.

scended from *Cbus* and *Ham*: and after a succession of princes, whose duration cannot be found, they were at last ejected by the *Assyrians*. For this there is the evidence of the best profane history; and it is in a great degree confirmed by the Scriptures.

Such was the original of the *Chaldeans*. But had they been derived from any other source; yet it could never have been such, as the learned *Hyde* supposes. For as to *Chesed* being their common father, it is not only, as I have shewn, preposterous in itself; but absolutely impossible: for he was never, that we know, in *Chaldea*, nor had any connection with it. The Scripture itself will prove what I assert. It is said, when *Terah* left that part of the world, that he ⁶ "took *Abram* his son, and *Lot* the son of *Haran* his son's son, and *Sarai* his daughter-in-law, his son *Abram*'s wife; and they went forth with them from *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, to go into the land of *Canaan*; and they came unto *Haran*." *Abram*, *Lot*, and *Sarai*, together with *Terah*, are the only persons specified: yet there were certainly more. In the next chapter (12. v. 1.) we are informed, that ⁷ "the Lord said (or had said) unto *Abram*, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land, that I will shew thee:" and (v. 4.) "So *Abram* departed, as the Lord had spoken to him; and *Lot* went with him; and *Abram* was seventy and five years old, when he departed out of *Haran*." The command given was not only to leave his country, but his kindred, and his father's house: and he obey-

⁶ Gen. 11. v. 31.

⁷ Some difference has been observed in the interpretation of this passage. See *Acts* 7. v. 2. Whichever be the true reading, it affects not my argument: for whether the command were given in *Chaldea*, or at *Haran*, the completion of it was certainly at the latter place: and so it was understood by *Eusebius*. Έως ου ηλθεν Αβρααμ εκ Μεσοποταμιας, εκ πολεως Χαρραν, και τη οικη τη πατρος αυτη, κατα κελευσιν Θεου, ες γην Κανααν, η εστι Παλαιστину, ετη χις. Hist. Συναγωγ. pag. 373. See also *Euseb. Epitome Chron.* pag. 228.

obeyed; that is, he went from *Haran*, and left them: so that others besides *Abram* and *Lot* followed *Terah* to *Haran*. For unless we suppose *Nabor* and others to have resided there; *Terah* being dead, and *Lot* going with him, there was nothing left for *Abram* to quit; no kindred, no family, no father's house to leave: and the command is introduced unnecessarily, and out of its place, if it is where *Abram* could not act in consequence of it. We may therefore be assured, that *Nabor* went with *Terah* to *Haran*, and dwelt there. *Milcab*, his wife, was with *Bethuel* and *Laban*, when ⁸ *Abram* sent his servant to the city of *Nabor*. In process of time *Isaac* sends *Jacob* to the same place, to the house of *Bethuel*: ⁹ "Arise, go to *Padan-aram*, to the house of *Bethuel* thy mother's father—And *Isaac* sent away *Jacob*: and he went to *Padan-aram* unto *Laban* son of *Bethuel*." And this house of *Bethuel*, the place of residence of *Laban*, is past contradiction specified by *Rebecca*, when she lays her pressing injunctions on *Jacob*: ¹ "Now therefore, my son, obey my voice: and arise, flee thou to *Laban* my brother, to *Haran*:" by which we find, that the city of *Haran*, the city of *Nabor*, and the house of *Bethuel* were the same place. It is plain then, that *Nabor* resided at *Haran* after the death of *Terah*, and after the departure of *Abram* to *Canaan*: and that his children lived there after him. These children were eight in number, born after *Abram* had left the place: for above sixty years afterwards, when *Abram* was about 140 years old, it had been told him; ² "Behold *Milcab*, she hath also born children unto thy brother *Nabor*." The names of them are mentioned in the passage; and *Chesed* was the third of the eight. Out of this family *Abraham* sent to take a wife for his son *Isaac*; who married *Rebecca* the granddaughter of *Nabor*. And *Jacob* afterwards upon a like occasion

⁸ Gen. 24. v. 53.

⁹ Gen. 28. v. 2.

¹ Gen. 27. v. 43.

² Gen. 22. v. 20.

sion went to the same city, to *Haran in Mesopotamia*; and married *Leah* and *Rachel*, who were the descendants of the same person in the third degree. This then was the city of *Nabor*; and here was *Cbesed* born: and we have no more reason to think that he went and dwelt in *Chaldea*, than that he travelled to *India*, or *Ethiopia*. So that he could have no personal knowledge of the country, nor any connection with it: much less can he be esteemed the father of the *Chaldeans*, who were constituted a nation before he was born, and before the birth of his grandfire.

SOME

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

DISPERSION OF MANKIND,

IN REFERENCE TO PAGE 197.

I have taken notice before, that, some generations after the flood, there was a partition of the earth among the sons of *Noah*, which was done by divine appointment. It is a subject, which has been canvassed by several writers; many of whom do not allow, that there was any particular division; but only a general dispersion. *Bochart* is of this opinion; who after mentioning many passages out of the Scriptures, which he did not sufficiently weigh, concludes with this corollary;

¹ *Hyde Relig. Vet. Persar. pag. 61. 65.*

rollary; that "all lands may be said to be by allotment, and
 "all the free gift of God: and where the Scriptures are silent,
 "it is idle to form surmises." ² *Scripturâ tacente, nostrum non
 est hæc divinare.*—*Quamcunque terram occupamus, illam Deus
 se dedisse dicit, et vult sibi acceptam referri.* In answer to
 this, I must take notice, that the Scriptures are not silent
 upon this head: and what we find mentioned in them, must
 not be taken in so lax and indefinite a manner; there be-
 ing nothing in them, that can in the least countenance
 this notion of a general and indeterminate dissipation. I
 shall not take upon me to settle the time, when this great
 event happened: let it suffice, that it did happen; that there
 was a particular rule and order observed in the distribu-
 tion, and the whole by God's appointment. That there
 was a partition, is evident from the words of *Moses*, saying;
 3 "By these were the isles of the *Gentiles* divided." 4 "In his
 "days [*Phaleg's*] the earth was divided." 5 "By these were
 "the nations divided in the earth after the flood." These
 texts I should think sufficient: but in another place this di-
 vine writer speaks more particularly to the purpose; and his
 account is so plain and circumstantial, as to leave no room for
 uncertainty. It is in that noble and prophetic hymn, one of
 the most sublime compositions, that ever was penned; where
 he pours forth his soul to God, and at the same time addresses
 himself to the people, whom he had so long conducted, and
 was now going to leave for ever. 6 "Remember," says he,
 "the days of old, consider the years of many generations:
 "ask thy father, and he will shew thee, thy elders, and they
 "will tell thee. When the most High divided to the nations
 "their inheritance, when he separated the sons of *Adam*, he
 "set

² Geogr. Sacr. pars prior. Lib. 1. Cap. 16.

³ Gen. 10. v. 5.

⁴ 1 Chron. 1. v. 19.

⁵ Gen. 10. v. 32.

⁶ Deut. 32. v. 7, 8, 9.

"set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of *Israel*. For the Lord's portion is his people; *Jacob* is the lot of his inheritance." This is too particular to be cursorily passed over. We are told, that the nations of the earth had an inheritance assigned them; and that it was by divine appointment. Moreover, that at the general dispersion it pleased God to have a provident regard for a nation, which was to come, even for the sons of *Israel*: and in the distribution of countries had set bounds to other families, that they should not trespass upon the inheritance of *Jacob*, which was his own portion. Thus limits were prescribed according to the necessities of a people to come, and to the space, which would be requisite for their numbers to inherit. In other words, the land of *Canaan* was excepted out of the general partition. This space was usurped by the people who gave name to it. They knew the divine allotment; yet wilfully transgressed: on which account they brought themselves and their posterity under the severest curse; and justified every thing, which they afterwards suffered for their rebellion: though at the time of their punishment, their guilt was accumulated with additional wickedness and apostacy.

What I have mentioned above, *St. Paul* likewise alludes to:

7 Εποίησε τε ἐξ ἑνὸς αἱματος παν ἔθνος ἀνθρώπων κατοικεῖν ἐπὶ παν τὸ πρῶτον τῆς γῆς, ὀρίσας προτεταγμένους καιροὺς, καὶ τὰς ὁροθεσίας τῆς κατοικίας αὐτῶν.

This in our version is translated too indefinitely: and should not be, "God *bath* made, and *bath* determined," but, "God made," or, "did make of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and determined the times before appointed, and the *bounds* of *their habitation*." It refers to a particular time, and ordinance; the same that is spoken of by *Moses*. And it affords us this additional information; that not only the place of residence for each family, but the time likewise of the migration was

was by God's appointment. This was the sense of many of the fathers upon this subject, and particularly of *Eusebius*.

⁸ Μερισμος γης. Τῷ βφοβ ετει τὸ κοσμον, ενακοσιος ὡ τριακοσιος ὡ ετει τὸ Νωε, κατὰ ΘΕΙΟΝ δηλονοτι ΧΡΗΣΜΟΝ, εμερισε Νωε τοις τρισιν υἱοις αὐτῆς τὴν γῆν. He afterwards proceeds to mention the infringement of this divine ordinance, and the consequences of it: νεωτερισας ὁ τὸ Χαμ υἱος Χαναναν επεβη τοις ὀριοις τῆς Σημ, και κατωκησεν ἐκεῖ, παραβας τὴν εντολὴν Νωε, κ. τ. λ. whose posterity he afterwards tells us was destroyed by *Moses* and *Joshua*: ἐς δια Μωσεως και Ιησὺ τὸ Ναυη ἐξωλοθρευσεν ὁ Θεος.

This may serve to explain a passage in Scripture, which has been the cause of much perplexity. It is mentioned ⁹ that *Ham* the son of *Noah* had been guilty of a great breach of duty, and want of reverence to his father: that when *Noah* awoke, and was sensible of what his younger son had done, ¹ "He said, cursed be *Canaan*; a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren. And he said, Blessed be the Lord God of *Shem*; and *Canaan* shall be his servant." It has seemed to many persons extraordinary, that, as *Ham* was the person guilty, he should be passed over without any animadversion: and that the curse should devolve to *Canaan*, who does not seem to have been at all an accomplice. But it must be observed, that these words are not so much to be esteemed a curse vented out of resentment against *Ham* and *Canaan*, for what had been done, as a prophetic denunciation of disobedience in time to come, and of the evils in consequence of it: and even then not uttered for their sakes, but upon account of others of another family, who were to come after, and

⁸ *Euseb.* Chronic. Λογος Πρωτ. pag. 10. *Syncellus* pag. 90. as quoted above, mentions this infringement and usurpation of the *Canaanites*, and the attack made upon them for that outrage by the family of *Shem*:

Τῷ βωλη ετει τὸ κοσμον, τὸ δε Φαλεκ ἐξ ετει, Καῖναν ἀπεθανεν: και οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς Σημ ἐπολεμησαν πρὸς τὴν υἱὸς Χαμ περὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Παλαιστίνης.

⁹ *Gen.* 9. v. 22.

Gen. 9. v. 25, 26.

and to be instructed by it. It is very common with the sacred historian in the early accounts, which he gives us, to specify, what immediately relates to the grand purpose in hand; and to omit every thing else, which is not connected with it. Many things alluded to were well known at the time he wrote: it was therefore sufficient to extract, what was essential; and to give a sample for the whole. This may be observed in the ¹ history of *Lamech*, of a ³ conquest made by *Jacob*, in the ⁴ fragment upon the conquest of *Heshbon*; and in other places. In the passage, I am speaking of, there is reason to think, that a great deal preceded what is here mentioned by *Moses*; and that we have only a part of the original prophecy. From the tenour of what remains, we may perhaps form some judgement of what is omitted. It is probable, that at this season the patriarch disclosed, what was to happen in after times, especially to the son, who had aggrieved him. There is, I think, an apparent chasm and failure; which may with great probability be filled up, from what seems to be implied in this curse upon *Canaan*. It is very reasonable to suppose, that *Noah* told *Ham* of the future apostacy of his children: that the same want of reverence, which *Ham* had witnessed, would be visible in his posterity: That the second in descent from him should be the first ⁵ rebel upon earth; and at the same time the first tyrant, who should usurp authority over his brethren: That of the race of *Cush* should be a daring confederacy, who at the general dispersion should withstand the divine dispensation, and arrogate to themselves territories in direct opposition to the will of God: That a chosen people were to arise; and that there was for them a particular land

¹ Gen. 4. v. 23.

³ Gen. 48. v. 22.

⁴ Numb. 21. v. 27.

⁵ The name *Nimrod* signifies a rebel.

land ordained : but that *Canaan* and his sons, another branch of his family, should disregard this ordinance, and seize upon the land, which was destined for God's own portion. Then comes in the part to the purpose; "Curfed be *Canaan*; a fervant " of fervants fhall he be unto his brethren:" and "Blessed be the " Lord God of *Shem*; and *Canaan* fhall be his fervant." Of this nature I take to have been the original prophecy : and good reason may be given, why one part is omitted, and the other retained. The former part is omitted by the divine writer, as unnecessary to be related ; being either mentioned or implied in the common courfe of the hiftory. On the other hand, the propriety of inserting, what is specified, is apparent. It was a prophecy, that related moft intimately to the *Israelites*; who, when this hiftory was promulged, were upon their journey to *Canaan*, the land adjudged to them for an inheritance, but occupied by others. It was to inform them firft, that the *Canaanites* had no right to the land, which they poffeffed: that they had been guilty of an undue ufurpation : and were under the curfe of God for their determined and obftinate difobedience : therefore for that reason they could not prosper againft the *Israelites*. That the *Israelites* were going to their hereditary demefnes ; to a land originally defigned for them by the great difpofor of thrones and kingdoms : that the bleffing, entailed upon the fons of *Shem*, particularly belonged to the children of *Jacob* ; in whom the prophecy was to be completed, and to whom the *Canaanite* was to be fubfervient. The time, the place, every circumftance fhews with what propriety this part of the prophecy is retained : and at the fame time it is evident, that fomething had preceded, which is omitted by *Mofes*, as unnecessary to be related.

From the foregoing we may fee good reason for the feverities fhewn towards the *Canaanites* : whom if it had pleafed God to have fwallowed up quick with an earthquake, or extirpated by fire from heaven ; nobody could have arraigned his juftice.

But as he was pleased to make use of an arm of flesh, and to employ the *Israelites* as ministers of his vengeance; many have presumed to call in question the equity of the proceeding, and to represent it as an instance of injustice and cruelty. Whereas the intention of Providence, in the instruments it made use of, is apparent. It was to make the *Israelites* detest these nations and their horrid customs; and to be detested by them: and to render them inexcusable, if after such severities exercised upon this people, they should themselves hereafter lapse into the same apostacy and disobedience. To question whether God could in justice act thus in respect to the *Canaanites*, and whether he did right in chusing such implements of his vengeance, is a doubt as idle as it is impious. How the rebellion of the *Canaanites* was aggravated, and what were their crying sins, may be gathered from many parts of the Scriptures; but especially from the book of *Wisdom*, where they are particularly displayed: ⁶ "For it was thy will (O Lord) "to destroy by the hands of our fathers, both those old inhabitants of thy holy land; Whom thou hatedst for doing "most odious works of witchcrafts, and wicked sacrifices; "And also those merciless murderers of children, and devourers of man's flesh, and the feasts of blood; With their "priests out of the midst of their idolatrous crew, and the "parents that killed with their own hands, souls destitute "of help; — For it was a cursed seed from the beginning." This may serve to vindicate the dispensations of Providence in this particular; and it's just retributions on a rebellious and wicked people.

⁶ Chap. 12. v. 3, 4, 5, 6. 11.

Α Ν Θ Ρ Ω Π Ο Θ Υ Σ Ι Α

Κ Α Ι

Τ Ε Κ Ν Ο Θ Υ Σ Ι Α.

ONE would think it scarce possible, that so unnatural a custom, as that of human sacrifices, should have existed in the world: but it is very certain, that it did not only exist, but almost universally prevail. I have before taken notice, that the *Egyptians* of old brought no victims to their temples, nor shed any blood at their altars: but human victims, and the blood of men must be here excepted; which at one period they most certainly offered to their gods. The ²*Cretans* had the same custom; and adhered to it a much longer time. The nations of *Arabia* did the same. The people of ³*Dumah* in particular sacrificed every year a child; and buried it underneath an altar, which they made use of instead of an idol: for they did not admit of images. The *Persians* buried people alive. *Amestris*, the ⁴wife of *Xerxes*, entombed twelve persons quick under ground for the good of her soul. It would be endless to enumerate every city, or every province,

¹ *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 4. Cap. 16. Arnobius. Lib. 2.*

² Φοινικες δε και Κρητες του Κρονου εν ταις τεκνοθυσιας αυτων ιλασκοντο. *Athanas. Orat. adversus Gentes. Herodotus Lib. 4.* says the same of the *Scythians*. See also *Porph. de Abstinentiâ. Lib. 2. pag. 224. from Manetho.*

³ Και Δυματιοι δε της Αραβιας κατ' ετος εκαστον εθνον παιδα, ον υπο βωμον εθαπτουν, ω χρονται ως ξοανω. *Porph. de Abstin. Lib. 2. pag. 225.* These people are mentioned *Isaiab, Chap. 21.* "The burthen of the desert of the sea"—"The burthen of *Dumah*."

⁴ Αμεστρις δε η Ξερξου γυνη δωδεκα κατωρυξεν ανθρωπους ζωντας υπερ αυτης. *Plutarch. Περι Δεισιδαιμονιας.*

vince, where these sad practices obtained. The ⁵ *Cyprians*, the *Rhodians*, the *Phoceans*, the *Ionians*, those of *Chios*, *Lesbos*, *Tenedos*, all had human sacrifices. The natives of the *Tauric Chersonesus* offered up to *Diana* every stranger, whom chance threw upon their coast. Hence arose that just expostulation in ⁶ *Euripides*, upon the inconsistency of the proceeding; wherein much good reasoning is implied. *Iphigenia* wonders, as the goddess delighted in the blood of men, that every villain and murderer should be privileged to escape; nay, be driven from the threshold of the temple: whereas, if an honest and virtuous man chanced to stray thither, he only was seized upon, and put to death. The *Pelasgi* in a time of scarcity vowed the tenth of all, that should be born to them, for a sacrifice in order to procure plenty. *Aristomenes* the *Messenian* slew three hundred noble *Lacedemonians*, among whom was *Theopompus* the king of *Sparta*, at the altar of *Jupiter* at *Ithome*. Without doubt the *Lacedemonians* did not fail to make ample returns: for they were a severe and revengeful people, and offered the like victims to *Mars*. Their festival of the *Diamastigosis* is well known; ⁸ when the *Spartan* boys were whipped in the sight of their parents with such severity before the altar of *Diana Orthia*, that they often expired under the torture. *Phylarchus* affirms, as he is quoted by ⁹ *Porphyry*, that of old every *Grecian* state made it a rule, before they marched towards an enemy, to solicit a blessing on their undertakings by human victims.

The *Romans* were accustomed to the like sacrifices. They both devoted themselves to the infernal gods, and constrained others

⁵ *Clem. Alexandrin. Cohort. ad Gentes. Vol. 1. pag. 36. Edit. Potter.*
See also *Porphyry* above quoted.

⁶ *Euripid. Iphigen. in Tauris.*

Τα της Θεῆς δε μεμφομαι σοφισματα, κ. τ. λ.

⁷ *Clem. Alexand. Cohort. pag. 36. Porphyry above.*

⁸ *Phylarch. Institutiones Laconicae.* He says, that the cruelty lasted all day long; δι' ὅλης της ημερας.—μεχρι θανατου πολλων καρτερων.

⁹ *De Abstinentiâ. Lib. 2. pag. 226.*

others to submit to the same horrid doom. Hence we read in ¹*Titus Livius*, that in the consulate of *Æmilius Paulus* and *Terentius Varro*, two Gauls, a man and a woman, and two in like manner of Greece, were buried alive at Rome in the *Ox-Market*: where was a place under ground, walled round to receive them; which had before been made use of for such cruel purposes. He says, it was a sacrifice not properly Roman; that is, not originally of Roman institution: yet it was frequently practised there, and that too by publick authority. *Plutarch* makes mention of a like instance a few years before, in the consulship of ²*Flaminius* and *Furius*. There is reason to think, that all the principal captives, who graced the triumphs of the Romans, were at the close of that cruel pageantry put to death at the altar of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Caius Marius* offered up his own daughter for a victim to the *Dii Averrunci*, to procure success in a battle against the *Cimbri*; as we are informed by *Dorotheus*, quoted by ³*Clemens*. It is likewise attested by ⁴*Plutarch*, who says that her name was *Calpurnia*. *Marius* was a man of a sour and bloody disposition; and had probably heard of such sacrifices being offered in the enemies camp, among whom they were very common: or he might have beheld them exhibited at a distance: and therefore murdered what was nearest, and should have been dearest, to him; to counteract their fearful spells, and outdo them in their wicked machinery. *Cicero* making mention of this custom being common in *Gaul*, adds, that it prevailed among
that

¹ Lib. 22. Cap. 57. *Zonare* Annales. Lib. 8. Cap. 19.

² Δυο μὲν Ἕλληνας, ἀνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δυο δὲ Γαλάτας ὁμοίως, ἐν τῇ καλλυμένη βῶνι ἀγορᾷ κατορυγὰς ζῶντας. In *Marcello*. Vol. 4. pag. 547. Edit. H. Steph. See *Dionysius Halicarnass.* Histor. Lib. 1.

³ Ὁ δὲ τοῖς Ἀποτροπαιοῖς Μάριος, ὡς Δωροθέος ἐν τῇ τεταρτῇ Ἰταλικῶν ἱστορίᾳ. *Clem. Alex.* Cohort. ad Gentes.

⁴ *Plutarchi* Parallel. 20^{um}. The name of this person in *Plutarch* is *Mantus*: whoever it may have been, the fact is the same: it takes not at all from the evidence of the history.

that people, even at the time when he was ⁵ speaking: from whence we may be led to infer, that it was then discontinued among the *Romans*. And we are told by ⁶ *Pliny*, that it had then, and not very long, been discouraged. For there was a law enacted, when *Lentulus* and *Crassus* were consuls, so late as the 657th year of *Rome*, that there should be no more human sacrifices: for till that time those horrid rites had been celebrated in broad day without any mask, or controul: which, had we not the best evidence for the fact, would appear scarce credible. And however discontinued they may have been for a time, we find, that they were again renewed; though they became not so publick, nor so general. For not very long after this, it is reported of ⁷ *Augustus Cæsar*, when *Perusia* surrendered in the time of the second *Triumvirate*, that besides multitudes executed in a military manner, he offered up upon the *Ides of March* three hundred chosen persons, both of the *Equestrian* and *Senatorial* order, at an altar dedicated to the manes of his uncle *Julius*. Even at *Rome* itself this custom was revived; and ⁸ *Porphyry* assures us, that in his time a man was every year sacrificed at the shrine of *Jupiter Latiaris*.

He-

⁵ *His [Gallis] quidquam sanctum ac religiosum videri potest, qui etiam, siquando, aliquo metu adducti, Deos placandos esse arbitrantur, humanis bestiis eorum aras ac templa funestant? — Quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolando-rum? Cicero pro Fonteio. § 10. See Philippi Cluverii Germania Antiqua. 1631. Elz. pag. 251. and Grotius de Satisfactione.*

⁶ *Cn. Cornelio Lentulo, P. Licinio Crasso Coss. Senatus-consultum factum est, ne homo immolaretur: palamque fuit in tempus illud sacri prodigiosi celebratio. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 30. Cap. 1.*

⁷ *Perusiam captam — scribunt quidam, trecentos ex dedititiis electos, utriusque Ordinis, ad aram Divo Julio extructam, idibus Martiis, bestiarum more maculatos. Suetonius in Augusto. Cap. 15.*

⁸ *Αλλ' ἐτι καὶ νυν, τὶς ἀγνοεῖ κατὰ τὴν μεγάλην πόλιν τῇ τῇ Λατιαρίῃ Διὸς ἑορτῇ σφαζομένον ἀνδρῶν;* *Porphy. de Abstin. Lib. 2. pag. 226.*

Et Latro in hodiernum Jovi mediâ in Urbe humanus sanguis ingustatur. Tertullian. Gnost. Cap. 7.

Heliogabalus offered the like victims to the ⁹*Syrian* deity, which he introduced among the *Romans*. The same is said of ¹*Aurelian*.

The *Gauls*, and the *Germans* were so devoted to this shocking custom, that no business of any moment was transacted among them, without being prefaced with the blood of men. They were offered up to various gods; but particularly to *Hesus*, *Taranis*, and *Thautates*. These deities are mentioned by *Lucan*, where he enumerates the various nations, who followed the fortunes of *Cæsar*.

² *Et quibus immitis placatur sanguine diro*

Thautates; horrensque feris altaribus Hesus;

Et Taranis Scythicæ non mitior ara Dianæ.

The altars of these gods were far removed from the common resort of men: being generally situated in the depth of woods; that the gloom might add to the horror of the operation, and give a reverence to the place and proceeding. The persons devoted were led thither by the *Druids*, who presided at the solemnity, and performed the cruel offices of the ³sacrifice. *Tacitus* takes notice of the cruelty of the *Hermunduri*, in a war with the *Catti*, wherein they had greatly the advantage: at the close of which they made one general sacrifice of all, that

⁹ *Τῷ αὐτῷ [Ἡλιογαβαλῷ] εἶθε, παιδάς σφαγιαζόμενος, καὶ μαργαρευμάσι χρωμένος. Xiphilin. in Heliogab.*

¹ *Capitolium Aurelianus invehit, ut illic cederet servos, quos captos vovisse Jovi Optimo Maximo ferebatur. Vopiscus in Aureliano.*

These customs prevailed in most parts of the *Roman* empire till the time of *Adrian*, who took great pains to have them abolished; but could not entirely effect it. *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 4. Cap. 15.* and *Pallas* quoted by *Porphyry. Lib. 2. pag. 225.*

² *Lucan. Pharsalia. Lib. 1. v. 444.*

³ *Qui sunt affecti gravioribus morbis, quique in præliis periculisque versantur, aut pro victimis homines immolant, aut se immolaturus vovent; ministrisque ad ea sacrificia Druidibus utuntur. — Alii immani magnitudine simulacra habent, quorum contexta viminibus membra vivis hominibus complent, quibus succensis, circumventi flammâ exanimantur homines. Cæsar de Bello Gallico. Lib. 6.*

that was taken in battle. ⁴*Victor diversam aciem Marti ac Mercurio sacraverat: quo voto, equi, viri, cuncta victa occidioni dantur.* The poor remains of the legions under *Varus* suffered in some degree the same fate. ⁵*Lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas Tribunos, ac primorum ordinum centuriones maceraverant.* There were many places destined for this purpose all over *Gaul* and *Germany*; but especially in the mighty woods of *Arduenna*, and the great *Hercinian* forest; a wild, that extended above thirty days journey in length. ⁶The places set apart for this solemnity were held in the utmost reverence; and only approached at particular seasons. *Lucan* mentions a grove of this sort near *Massilia*, which even the *Roman* soldiers were afraid to violate, though commanded by *Cæsar*. It was one of those set apart for the sacrifices of the country.

⁷*Lucus erat longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,
Obscurum cingens connexis aëra ramis.
Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes
Sylvani, Nymphæque tenent: sed barbara ritu
Turba Deum: struētæ sacris feralibus aræ,
Omnis et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor.*

Claudian compliments *Stilico*, that, among other advantages accruing to the *Roman* armies through his conduct, they could now venture into the awful forest of *Hercinia*; and follow the chase in those so much dreaded woods, and otherwise make use of them.

⁸*Ut procul Herciniæ per vasta silentia sylvæ
Venari tutò liceat; lucosque vetustâ
Relligione truces, et robora numinis instar
Barbarici, nostræ feriant impune secures.*

These

⁴ *Tacitus*. *Annal.* Lib. 13. Cap. 57.

⁵ *Tacitus*. *Annal.* Lib. 1. Cap. 61.

⁶ *Erici Olai Historia Suecorum Gothorumque.* Holmiæ 1654. pag. 2.

⁷ *Lucan.* Lib. 3. v. 399.

⁸ *Claudian.* in *Laudes Stiliconis.* Lib. 1. v. 228.

These practices prevailed among all the people of the north, of whatever ⁹denomination. The *Massagetae*, the *Scythians*, the *Getes*, the *Sarmatians*, all the various nations upon the *Baltick*, particularly the *Suevi* and *Scandinavians*, held it as a fixed principle, that their happiness and security could not be obtained, but at the expence of the lives of ¹others. Their chief gods were ²*Thor*, and ³*Woden*; whom they thought, they could never sufficiently glut with blood. They had many very celebrated places of worship; especially in the island ⁴*Rugen*, near the mouth of the *Oder*; and in ⁵*Zeeland*: some too very famous among the ⁶*Semnonēs*, and ⁷*Naharvalli*. But the most revered of all, and the most frequented, was at ⁸*Upsal*; where there was every year a grand celebrity, which con-

⁹ *Jornandes de Rebus Geticis*.—of the *Goths*.

Procopius de Bello Goth. Lib. 2.—of the *Franks* and other nations.

Tribemius—of the *Sicambri*.

Helmoldi Annal. Sclavorum. Lib. 1. Cap. 53.—of the *Rugians*, &c.

Dithmar Episc. Mersburg. Lib. 1. pag. 12. — of the *Danes* and *Norwegians*.

Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14. Cap. 30.—of the *Britons* in the island of *Mona*. *Excisi luci sævis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos, fas habebant.*

¹ *Quin vulgata inter omnes opinio, ut Crantzius in Vandalicis, Lib. 3. Cap. 22. notat, delectari sanguine Deos. P. Hachenberg. Germania Media.* pag. 286.

² *Stephanus Stephanus*, quoting *Dudo of St. Quintin*, says; *Cæterum sacrificant venerantes Thur dominum suum, cui non aliquid pecudum, vel pecorum, sed sanguinem mactabant hominum, holocaustum omnium putantes pretiosissimum.* In *Librum tertium Saxonis Gram.* pag. 93.

³ *Othinum, qui bellis præsidebat, cruore et morte captivorum placabant; opinantes bellorum præsidem aptius humano cruore placari.* *Olaus Magnus.* Lib. 3. Cap. 7.

⁴ *Crantzius.* Lib. 5. Cap. 12, 13.

See *Tacitus de Mor. German.* Cap. 40. *Est in insulâ Oceani vastum nemus, dicatumque in eo vehiculum.*

⁵ *Dithmar Episc. Mersburg.* Lib. 1. pag. 12.

⁶ *Adam Bremensis de situ Daniæ.* Cap. 233.

⁷ *Tacitus de Mor. German.* Cap. 43.

⁸ *Scheifferi Upsal.* Cap. 16.

Olai Wormii Monumenta Danica. Lib. 1. Cap. 5.

Olai

continued for nine days. During this term they sacrificed animals of all sorts: but the most acceptable victims, and the most numerous were men. *⁹ Ipsas victimas apud plerosque commendabat humanus sanguis, effusus ante Deorum aras, et diro carmine devotus: introductâ immani illâ, ac barbarâ Scytharum consuetudine, qui Deos immortales hominum scelere et sanguine placari posse arbitrabantur.* Of these sacrifices none were esteemed so auspicious, and salutary, as a sacrifice of the prince of the country. When the lot fell for the king to die, it was received with universal acclamations, and every expression of joy; as it once happened in the time of a famine, when they cast lots, and it fell to king *Domalder* to be the people's victim: and he was accordingly put to death. *Olaus* ² *Trelger*, another prince, was burnt alive to *Woden*. They did not spare their own children. *Harald* the son of *Gunild*, the first of that name, slew two of his children to obtain a storm of wind. "He did not let," says *³ Verstegan*, "to sacrifice "two of his sons unto his idols, to th' end he might obtain of "them such a tempest at sea, as should break and disperse the "shipping of *Harald* king of *Denmark*." *Saxo Grammaticus* men-

Olai Magni Hist. de Gent. Septentrion. Epitome. Lib. 3. Cap. 5. Antwerp. 1558.

Steirnhook de jure Sueorum et Goth. vetusto. Cap. ult. pag. 399.

⁹ *Pauli Hachenbergi P. P. Germania Media. Dissert. 8. p. 286. Cap. 30. pag. 287. concerning king Domalder.*

¹ *Snorro Sturleson. Ynglinga Saga. pag. 18: from whom Loccenius seems to have borrowed the account, which he gives. Sub eo Rege [Domalder] tantâ fame Suecia afflictâ est, ut ei vix gravior unquam incubuerit. Cives inter se dissidentes, cum pœnam delictorum divinam agnoscerent, primo anno boves, altero homines, tertio regem ipsum, velut iræ cœlestis piaculum, ut sibi persuasum habebant, Odino immolabant. Loccenii Antiq. Sueo-Gothicæ. Lib. 1. pag. 5.*

² *Snorro Sturleson. above.*

Chronic. Norvegicum.

Johannes Magnus. Lib. 1. Cap. 12. Romæ. 1554. Accidit nonnunquam reges ipsos eâdem sorte delectos immolari. He speaks of it as faustissimum regno sacrificium.

³ *Antiquities. Antwerp. 1605. pag. 81.*

mentions a like fact. He calls the king *Haquin*; and speaks of the persons put to death, as two very hopeful young princes: *4 duos præstantissimæ indolis filios, hostiarum more, aris admotos, potiundæ victoriæ causâ, nefariâ litatione mactavit.* Another king slew nine sons, in order to prolong his own ⁵ life; in hopes, I suppose, that, what they were abridged of, would in great measure be added to himself. Such instances however occur not often: but the common victims were without end. *Adam Bremensis*, speaking of the awful grove at *Upsal*, where these horrid rites were celebrated, says, that there was not a single tree, but what was revered, as if it were gifted with some portion of divinity: and all this, because they were stained with gore, and foul with human putrefaction. *6 Lucus tam sacer est gentilibus, ut singulæ arbores ejus ex morte vel tabo immolatorum divinæ videantur.* The same is observed by *Scheiffer* in his account of this place. *7 Deorum sacer ille lucus erat: in arboribus singulis Dii ipsi habitare credebantur: ergo ad earum ramos corpora illa, veluti munera quædam Diis gratissima, suspendebant.*

The manner, in which the victims were slaughtered, was diverse in different places. Some of the ⁸ *Gaulish* nations chined them with a stroke of an ax. The *Celtæ* placed the man, who was to be offered for a sacrifice, upon a block, or an altar, with his breast upwards; and with a sword struck him forcibly across the *sternum*: then tumbling him to the ground, from his agonies and convulsions, as well as from the

⁴ *Saxo Grammaticus*. Lib. 10. pag. 183. *Soræ* 1644. *Patris nomine, quàm patriâ, carere maluit.*

⁵ *Olaus Wormius*. pag. 28. *Rex Sueciæ Aune novem filios Othino mactavit, ut ætatis obtineret prorogationem.*

⁶ *Adam Bremensis* de situ *Daniæ*. Cap. 234.

⁷ *Scheiffer* of *Upsal*, and *Eric Olaus* above. *Corpora verò in luco quodam proximo suspendebant, putantes arbores ipsas ex morte immolatorum divas et sacras.*

⁸ *Strabo*. Lib. 4. pag. 303.

the effusion of blood, they formed a judgement of future events. The ¹*Cimbri* ripped open the bowels; and from them they pretended to divine. In ²*Norway* they beat mens brains out with an ox-yoke. The same operation was performed in ³*Iceland*, by dashing them against an altar of stone. In many places they transfixed them with arrows. After they were dead, they suspended them upon the trees, and left them to putrefy. One of the ⁴writers, above quoted, mentions, that in his time, seventy carcases of this sort were found in a wood of the *Suevi*. *Dithmar* of *Mersburgh*, an author of nearly the same age, speaks of a place called *Ledur* in *Zeeland*, where there were every year ninety and nine persons sacrificed to the god ⁵*Swantowite*. During these bloody festivals a general joy prevailed; and banquets were most royally served. They fed; they caroused; and gave a loose to indulgence, which at other times was not permitted. ⁶*Dum sacrificia hæc peragebantur, varii adhibiti sunt ritus, et litationis modi: convivia celebrata magnifica: pars sanguinis postibus illita: pars adstantibus propinata.* They imagined, that there was something mysterious in the number nine: for which rea-

⁹ Παραδοξον και απιστον εχουσι νομιμον.—Ανθρωπων γαρ κατασπείσαντες τυ-
πτοι μαχαιρα κατα του υπερ το διαφραγμα τοπων και πεσοντος τε πληγεντος,
εκ της πτωσεως, και τε σπαραγμω των μελων, επι δε της τε αιματος ρυσεως, το
μελλον νοουσι. *Diod. Sicul. Lib. 5. pag. 308.*

¹ *Strabo. Lib. 7. pag. 451.*

² *Dudo of St. Quintin*, quoted by *Olaus Wormius. Lib. 1. Cap. 5. Juga boum unâ vice diriter icebantur in capite.*

³ *Arngrim Jonas. Crymogæa, seu Rerum Islandic. descriptio. Ham-
burg. 1609. Lib. 1. Cap. 4, 7.*

See *Bertholinus de causis contemptæ apud Danos mortis. Hafniæ. 1699. Lib. 2. Cap. 1. pag. 218. Lib. 3. Cap. 3. pag. 662.*

⁴ *Adam Bremensis de situ Daniæ. Cap. 234. He flourished in the tenth century.*

⁵ *Lib. 1. pag. 12. Dithmar was born A. D. 976.*

⁶ *Olai Wormii Monumenta Danica. Lib. 1. Cap. 5. pag. 28.*

The like in *Tacitus. Læti tunc dies—Non bella inibant, non arma sumebant: clausum omne ferrum: pax et quies tunc tantum nota; tunc tantum amata. De mor. Germ. Lib. 40.*

reason these feasts were in some places celebrated every 7 ninth year; in others every 8 ninth month; and continued for nine days. When all was ended, they washed the image of the deity in a pool; on account, I suppose, of it's being stained with blood, and then dismissed the assembly. Their servants were numerous, who attended during the term of their feasting, and partook of the banquet. At the close of all, they were smothered in the same pool, or otherwise made away with. On which *Tacitus* remarks, how great an awe this circumstance must necessarily infuse into those, who were not admitted to these mysteries: 9 *Arcanus hinc terror, sacra ignorantia, quid sit illud, quod tantum perituri videbant.*

These accounts are handed down from a variety of authors in different ages: many of whom were natives of the countries, which they describe; and to which they seem 1 strongly attached.

7 *Erics Olai Hist. Sueonum Gothorumque.* pag. 2.

Dithmar of Merseburgh, above.

8 *Olaus Magnus. Lib. 3. Cap. 6. Antverp. 1558. Erat olim in sacrificiis Gothorum &c— numeri novenarii observatio admodum accepta.—Omni nono mense solenniore venerationem impendebant.*

9 *Tacitus de moribus Germ. Cap. 40.*

1 Such was *Arngrim Jonas*, born amid the snows of *Iceland*; yet as much prejudiced in favour of his country, as those, who are natives of an happier climate. This is visible in his *Crymogæa*; but more particularly in his *Anatome Blefkiniana*. I have in my possession this curious little treatise, written in *Latin* by him in his own country, and printed *Typis Holensibus in Islandiâ Boreali. Anno 1612.* *Hola* is placed in some maps within the *Arctic* circle, and is certainly not far removed from it. I believe, it is the farthest north of any place, where arts and sciences have ever resided. They attended monsieur *Maupertuis* to *Tornea*: but that was only a transient visit. They seem at *Hola* in some degree to have made their abode. This book is a defence of his country against the invectives of *Dithmar Blefkin*; and is written with great spirit, and in a stile superiour to what might be expected from a country so rude, and so remote. In his *Crymogæa* he is obliged to acknowledge, that human sacrifices were offered up in *Iceland*: but he tries at all rates to ex-

tenuate:

attached. They would not therefore have brought so foul an imputation on the part of the world, in favour of which they were each writing, nor could there be that concurrence of testimony, were not the history in general true.

The like custom prevailed to a great degree at ² *Mexico*, and even under the mild government of the ³ *Peruvians*; and in most parts of *America*. In *Africa* it is still kept up; where, in the inland parts they sacrifice some of the captives taken in war to their *Fetiches*, in order to secure their favour. *Snelgrave* was in the king of *Daboome's* camp, after his inroad into the countries of *Ardra* and *Whidaw*; and ⁴ says, that he was a witness to the cruelty of this prince, whom he saw sacrifice multitudes to the deity of his nation.

The sacrifices, of which I have been treating, if we except some few instances, consisted of persons doomed by the chance of war, or assigned by lot to be offered. But among the nations of *Canaan*, of whom I first spoke, the victims were peculiarly chosen. Their own children, and whatever was nearest and dearest to them, were deemed the most worthy offering to their god. The *Carthaginians*, who were a colony from *Tyre*, carried with them the religion of their mother country, and instituted the same worship in the parts where they settled. It consisted in the adoration of several deities, but

tenuate the fact, and to make it appear not a general practice. *Ceterum illa immanitas, illæ Saturni hostiæ, haud diu durasse apud Islandos videntur: et sanè nec alibi usitata, quàm in duobus locis assignatis, imò nec ejus provincie incolis omnibus, ubi exercita est. Crymogæa. Lib. 1. Cap. 6. pag. 64. Impres. Hamburgi. Datum ex Islandiâ Boreali. 1609.*

² *Antonio de Solis' conquest of Mexico. Book. 3. Chap 17. Book. 5. Chap. 23.*

³ *Johannes Acofta, Lib. 5. of the Mexicans, and the sacrificing children in Peru.*

Garcilaffo della Vega says that the *Incas* put a stop to all such sacrifices.

⁴ *Snelgrave's Voyage to Guinea. pag. 31. 34. He mentions four thousand Whidaws being sacrificed, besides people of other nations. To part of the tragedy he was an eye witness.*

but particularly of *Kronus*; to whom they offered human sacrifices; and especially the blood of 5 children. If the parents were not at hand to make an immediate offer, the magistrates did not fail to make choice of, what was most fair, and promising; that the god might not be defrauded of his dues. Upon a check being received in *Sicily*, and some other alarming circumstances happening, *Himilcar* without any hesitation laid hold of a boy, and offered him on the spot to *Kronus*; and at the same time ⁶drowned a number of priests, to appease the deity of the sea. The *Carthaginians* another time, upon a great defeat of their army by *Agathocles*, imputed their miscarriages to the anger of this god, whose services had been neglected. Touched with this, and seeing the enemy at their gates, they seized at once two hundred children of the prime nobility, and offered them in publick for a sacrifice. Three hundred more, being persons, who were some how obnoxious, yielded themselves voluntarily, and were put to death with the 7 others. The neglect, of which they accused themselves, consisted in sacrificing children, purchased of parents among the poorer sort, who reared them for that purpose; and not selecting the most promising, and the most honourable, as had been the custom of ⁸old. In short, there were particular children brought up for the altar, as sheep are fattened for the shambles: and they were bought, and butchered in the same manner. But this indiscriminate way of proceeding was thought to have given offence. It is remarkable, that the *Egyptians* looked out for the most specious and handsome person to be sacrificed. The *Albanians* pitched

⁵ *Poinei sont solitei sos sacrificare puellos. Ennius.*

⁶ *Diodorus Sic. Lib. 13. pag. 207. Πληθος ιερων καταποντισας.*

⁷ *Diodorus Sic. Lib. 20. pag. 756.*

⁸ Καθοσον εν τοις εμπροσθεν χρονοις θυοντες τω τω θεω των υιων της κρατις, υς ερον ουκ εμενοι λαδρα παιδας, και θρεψαντες, επεμψον επι την θυσιαν. *Diodorus Sic. Lib. 20. pag. 756.*

pitched upon the best man of the community, and made him pay for the wickedness of the rest. The *Carthaginians* chose what they thought the most excellent, and at the same time the most dear to them: which made the lot fall heavy upon their children. This is taken notice of by *Silius Italicus* in his fourth book:

*Mos erat in populis, quos condidit advena Dido,
Poscere cæde Deos veniam, et flagrantibus aris,
Infandum dictu! parvos imponere natos.*

Kronus, to whom these sacrifices were exhibited, was an oriental deity, the god of light and fire; and therefore always worshipped with some reference to that element. The *Carthaginians*, as I have observed, first introduced him into *Africa*. He was the same as the *Orus* of the *Egyptians*, and the *Alorus* of the eastern nations. That the name given him originally by the *Greeks* was *Koronus*, is manifest from a place in *Crete*, which was sacred to him, and is mentioned by the name *Coronis*. It is said, that both the chief city, and the adjacent country, were thus denominated; and that these sacrifices were there offered, which we know were peculiar to *Kronus*. ¹ Εν δὲ τῇ νυν Σαλαμῖνι, προτερον Κορωνιδι ονομαζομενη, μνημι κατὰ Κυπριας Αφροδισίῳ, εθνετο ανθρωπος Αγραυλῳ, τῇ Κεκροπος και νυμφης Αγραυλιδος. If this place, which was consecrated to him (as is apparent by these offerings) was called *Koronis*; it is plain, that his name must have been rendered by the *Greeks* *Koronus*: and both are a transposition for *Kon-Orus*, or *Cbon-Orus*, "the lord *Orus*," or Ὀρος. He was universally adored in *Cyprus*; but particularly in this part, which *Porphry* supposes to have been *Salamis*. This is evident from ²*Diodorus* Si-

⁹ Εστὶ δὲ Κορωνη μοῖρα τῆς Σαλαμῖνος τῆς ἐν Κυπρῳ. *Steph. Byzant.* It seems to have been an appendage to the city.

¹ *Porphyr.* de Abstin. Lib. 2. pag. 222.

² He mentions, that *Demetrius* took by storm *Carpasia* and *Ouranie*. They lay beyond *Salamis* towards the eastern point of the island.

Siculus, who mentions a city *Ouranie* here. He makes it indeed distinct from *Salamis*: but places it hard by, between that city and *Carpasia*; where the river *Chour* (the *Ouc Our* of the *Phenicians*, and the ³*Courium*, *Κούριον*, of the *Greeks*) runs at this day. The *Greeks* thought *Kronus* was the same as *Χρόνος*: but it was an oriental name; and the etymology was to be looked for among people of those parts.

⁴ Βηλος επ' Ευφρηταο, Λιβυς κεκλημενος Αμμων,

Απρις εφ' ους Νειλωος, ΑΡΑΨ ΚΡΟΝΟΣ, Ασσυριοις Ζευς.

The *Greeks*, we find, called the deity, to whom these offerings were made, *Agraulos*; and feigned that she was a woman, and the daughter of *Cecrops*. But how came *Cecrops* to have any connection with *Cyprus*? *Agraulos* is a corruption, and transposition of the original name, which should have been rendered *Uk El Aur*, or *Uk El Aurus*; but has, like many other oriental titles and names, been strangely sophistified; and is here changed to *Agraulos*. It was in reality the god of light; the *Orus* and *Alorus*, of whom I have said so much, who was always worshipped with fire. This deity was the *Moloch* of the *Tyrians* and *Canaanites*, and the *Melech* of the east; that is, the great and principal god, the god of light, of whom fire was esteemed a symbol; and at whose shrine, instead of viler victims, they offered the blood of men.

Such was the *Kronus* of the *Greeks*, and the *Moloch* of the *Phenicians*: and nothing can appear more shocking, than the sacrifices of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, which they performed to this idol. In all emergencies of state, and times of general calamity they devoted, what was most necessary and

va-

³ There was another place called *Courium*, mentioned by *Stephanus*, *Strabo*, and *Aristotle* de mirabilibus. It was not far from *Amathus*: and near the spot, where it stood, there is a cape, still called *Canourie*. See *Pocock*, Vol. 2. pag. 218.

⁴ *Nonni* Dionsysiaca. XL.

⁵ Φοινικες δε ευ ταις μεγαλαις συμφοραις, η πολεμων, η αυχμων, η λοιμων, εθουοντο των ΦΙΛΑΤΑΤΩΝ τινα επιψηφιζοντες Κρονω. *Porph.* Lib. 2. pag. 224.

valuable to them, for an offering to the gods, and particularly to *Moloch*. But besides these undetermined times of bloodshed, they had particular and prescribed seasons every year, when children were chosen out of the most ⁶noble and reputable families, as I have before mentioned. If a person had an only ⁷child, it was the more liable to be put to death; as being esteemed more acceptable to the deity, and more efficacious of the general good. Those, who were sacrificed to *Kronus*, were thrown into the arms of a molten ⁸idol, which stood in the midst of a large fire, and was red with heat. The arms of it were stretched out, with the hands turned upwards, as it were to receive them; yet sloping downwards, so that they dropt from thence into a glowing furnace below. To other gods they were otherwise slaughtered; and, as it is implied, by the very hands of their parents. What can be more horrid to the imagination, than to suppose a father leading the dearest of all his sons to such an infernal shrine? or a mother, the most engaging and affectionate of her daughters, just rising to maturity, to be slaughtered at the altar of *Ashteroth* or *Baal*? *Justin* describes this unnatural custom very pathetically. ⁹*Quippe homines, ut victimas immolabant; et impuberes (quæ ætas hostium misericordiam provocat) aris*

⁶ Εθος ην τοις παλαιοις εν ταις μεγαλαις συμφοραις των κινδυνων, αντι της παντων φθορας, του ΗΓΑΠΗΜΕΝΟΝ των ΤΕΚΝΩΝ τους κρατουτας, η πολεις, η εθνους, εις σφαγην επιδιδουαι, λυτρον τοις τιμωροις δαιμοσι. *Philo de Phœnic. Historiâ, apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 4. Cap. 16.*

⁷ Κρονω γαρ Φοινικες καθ' ἑκάστου ετος εθουν τα ΑΓΑΠΗΤΑ και ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗ των παιδων. *Euseb. in laud. Constantini.*

⁸ Ην δε παρ' αυτοις [Καρχηδονιοις] ανδριας Κρονω χαλκω, εκτετακως τας χειρας ὑπτιας, εγκεκλιμενας επι την γην, ὥς τε του επιτεθεντα των παιδων αποκυλιεσθαι, και πιπτειν εις τι χασμα πληνες πυρος. Εικος δε και του Ευριπιδην ευτευθεν ειληφεναι τα μυθολογημενα παρ' αυτοις περι την εν Ταυροις θυσιαν, εν οἷς εισαγει την Ιφιγενειαν ὑπο Ορεσθ διερωτωμενην.

Ορεσθ. Ταφος δε ποιος δεχεται μ', ὅταν θανω;

Ιφιγ. Πυρ ἱερου ενδον, χασμα τ' ευρωπον χθονος. *Diod. Sic. Lib. 20. pag. 756.*

⁹ *Justin. Histor. Lib. 18. Cap. 6.*

aris admovebant: pacem sanguine eorum exposcentes, pro quorum vitâ Dii rogari maxime solent. Such was their blind zeal, that this was continually practised; and so much of natural affection still left unextinguished, as to render the scene ten times more shocking, from the tenderness, which they seemed to express. They embraced their children with great fondness; and encouraged them in the gentlest terms, that they might not be appaled at the sight of the hellish process: begging of them to submit with chearfulness to this fearful operation. If there was any appearance of a tear rising, or a cry unawares escaping; the mother smothered it with her kisses: that there might not be any show of backwardness, or constraint; but the whole be a free-will-offering. ²*Blanditiis, et osculo comprimente vagitum, ne flebilis hostia imoletur.* These cruel endearments over, they stabbed them to the heart, or otherwise opened the fluices of life; and with the blood warm, as it ran, besmeared the ³altar, and the grim visage of the idol. These were the customs, which the *Israelites* learned of the people of *Canaan*; and for which they are upbraided by the *Psalmist*. ⁴“ They did not destroy the nations,

¹ This is likewise expressed very affectingly by *Eusebius*. Και τις πατηρ του μονογενη παιδα, και μητηρ την αγαπητην θυγατερα, προσεθυον τω δαιμονι· και κατεσφαττον οι φιλατοι, ως τι των αλογων, και αλλοτριων θρεμματων, τις προσηκοντας. *Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 3. Cap. 15.* There is no accounting for the infatuation of these nations, and the inconsistency of their practices. The *Phenicians*, who were so liberal of man's blood, would not hurt a cow; and the *Carthaginians* held it worse than sacrilege to maim an ape.

² *Minucius Felix.* pag. 293.

³ The *Scythians* received the blood in a vessel: αποσφαζουσι τις ανθρωπος εις αλγος. *Herodot. Lib. 4.*

The *Germans* did the same: *effusum cruorem excipiebant pateris, et eo adolebant aras. Schedius de Diis Germanis.* pag. 390.

Cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris consulere Deos fas habebant [Druidæ]. Tacit. Annal. Lib. 14. Cap. 30.

⁴ *Psalms.* 106. v. 34, &c.

“ tions, concerning whom the Lord commanded them: But
 “ were mingled among the heathen, and learned their works.
 “ Yea, they sacrificed their sons and their daughters unto de-
 “ vils, And shed innocent blood, even the blood of their
 “ sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed unto the
 “ idols of *Canaan*: and the land was polluted with blood.
 “ Thus were they defiled with their own works, and went a
 “ whoring with their own inventions.”

These cruel rites, practised in so many nations, made ⁵*Plu-*
tarch debate with himself, “ whether it would not have been
 “ better for the *Galatæ*, or for the *Scythians*, to have had no
 “ tradition, or conception of any superiour beings, than to
 “ have formed to themselves notions of gods, who delighted
 “ in the blood of men: of gods, who esteemed human victims
 “ the most acceptable and perfect sacrifice? Would it not,”
 says he, “ have been more eligible for the *Carthaginians* to
 “ have had the atheist *Critias*, or *Diagoras*, their lawgiver at
 “ the commencement of their polity, and to have been taught,
 “ that there was neither god, nor dæmon, than to have sacri-
 “ ficed in the manner, they were wont, to the god, which
 “ they adored? Wherein they acted, not as the person did,
 “ whom *Empedocles* describes in some poetry, where he ex-
 “ poses this unnatural custom. The fire there with many idle
 “ vows offers up unwittingly his son for a sacrifice: but the
 “ youth was so changed in feature and figure, that his father
 “ did not know him. These people used, knowingly and wil-
 “ fully, to go through this bloody work, and slaughter their
 “ own offspring. Even they, who were childless, would not
 “ be exempted from this cursed tribute; but purchased child-
 “ ren at a price of the poorer sort, and put them to death
 “ with as little remorse, as one would kill a lamb, or a chicken.
 “ The mother, who sacrificed her child, stood by without any
 “ seem-

⁵ Περὶ Δεισιδαιμονίας. Vol. 1. pag. 297. Edit. H. Steph. 1572.

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"seeming sense of what she was losing, and without uttering
 "a groan. If a sigh did by chance escape, she lost all the
 "honour, which she proposed to herself in the offering; and
 "the child was notwithstanding slain. All the time of this
 "celebrity, while the children were murdering, there was a
 "noise of clarions and tabors sounding before the idol; that
 "the cries and shrieks of the victims might not be heard.
 "Tell me now," says *Plutarch*, "if the monsters of old, the
 "*Typhons*, and the giants were to expel the gods, and to rule
 "the world in their stead; could they require a service more
 "horrid, than these infernal rites and sacrifices?"

SOME

SOME FARTHER

OBSERVATIONS

UPON THE

PHENICIAN RITES;

AND PARTICULARLY OF THEIR

MYSTICAL OFFERING.

THESE nations had certainly a notion of a *federal*, and an *expiatory* sacrifice. It was derived to them by tradition; and, though originally founded in truth, yet being by degrees darkened and misapplied, it gave rise to the worst of profanations, and was the source of the basest and most unnatural cruelty. I have shewn at large, that *human victims* were very common among the *Phenicians*: and *Philo-Byblius* tells us from *Sanchoniatho*, that in some of these sacrifices there was a particular mystery: κατεσφαττοντο δε οι δεδομενοι μυσικως: "they, who were devoted for this purpose, were offered *mystically*:" that is, under a mystical representation. And he proceeds to inform us, that *it was in consequence of an example* which

which had been set this people by the god Kronus, who in a time of distress offered up his only son to his father Ouranus. There is something in the account very extraordinary, which, I think, deserves our particular notice. Part of the passage I have mentioned before. Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς παλαιοῖς ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις συμφοραῖς τῶν κινδύνων, ἀντὶ τῆς πάντων φθοράς, τὸ ἠγαπημένον τῶν τέκνων τῆς κρατύντας ἢ πολεως, ἢ ἐθνὸς, εἰς σφαγὴν ἐπιδίδοναι, λυτρὸν τοῖς τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι. Κατεσφαττοντο δὲ οἱ δίδομενοι μυσικῶς. — Κρονὸς τοῖνυν, ὃν οἱ Φοινῖκες Ἰλ προσαγορεύεσσι, βασιλευν τῆς χώρας, καὶ ὕστερον μετὰ τὴν τε βίαν τελευτήν εἰς τὸν τε Κρονὸν ἀσερὰ καθιερῶθεις, ἐξ ἐπιχωρίας νυμφῆς, Ἀνωβρετ λεγομένης, υἱὸν ἐχὼν μονογενῆ, ὃν διὰ τὸ Ἰεὺδ ἐκαλοῦν (τε μονογενὲς ἔτι καὶ νυν καλεμένον παρὰ τοῖς Φοινίξιν) κινδύνων ἐκ πολεμῶν μεγίστων κατελιηφότες τὴν χώραν, βασιλικῶ κοσμησας σχηματὶ τὸν υἱόν, βῶμον τε κατασκευασάμενος, κατέθυσεν. It is told with some variation in another place. Λοίμην δὲ γενομένην, καὶ φθοράς, τὸν ἑαυτὴ μονογενῆ υἱὸν Κρονὸς Οὐρανῷ πατρὶ ὀλοκαρπῶσι.

I have shewn, that the most approved sacrifices among the *Phenicians*, were those of men: yet even among these they made a difference; and some were in greater repute than others. Many times they offered human victims indiscriminately, and without choice. At other times they selected their own children, and the most beloved of their children; which was supposed to be a most acceptable offering. But the greatest refinement in these cruel rites was, when the prince of the country, or a chief person in any city brought an only son to the altar; and there slaughtered him by way of atonement, to avert any evil from the people. This last was properly the *mystical sacrifice*. We are informed by the same author, that this custom was instituted in consequence of an example exhibited by *Kronus*, who is said to have been a god, and likewise a king of the country. It appears, that this deity

* *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. pag. 40. Lib. 4. Cap. 16. pag. 142. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. pag. 30.

deity was by the *Phenicians* called ²*Il*: and in other places he is spoken of as a principal god; though in this passage he is mentioned only as a king, who after his death was deified, and instated in the planet, which afterwards bore his name. He had by the nymph *Anobret* an only son, who for that reason was called *Ieoud*, which in the *Phenician* language expresses that circumstance. This son in a time of great danger, either from war or pestilence, *Kronus* is said to have arrayed in a royal vesture; and to have led him thus habited to an altar, which he had constructed, and there sacrificed him for the publick weal. Such is the history, as we receive it through the hands of the ³*Greek* historian: in which, as it here stands, I cannot see any thing mysterious. If there be no more meant, than that a king of the country sacrificed his son, and that the people afterwards copied his example; it is an instance of a cruel precedent too blindly followed: but it contains in it nothing of a mystery. When a fact is supposed to have a mystical reference, there should be something more than a bare imitation. Whatever may have been al-
luded

² In *Eusebius*, instead of *Il*, the reading is *Israel*: the name *Il* by some copyist having been taken for an abbreviation of the former word, which is often in MSS. written with a circumflex Ἰλ. *Utrobique in Eusebii editis, pro Ιλ legitur Ισραηλ; quasi vox illa esset hujus compendium. Verum Ιλου, του και Κρονου, Ilum, qui Saturnus dictus est, Cæli filium fuisse ex Sanchoniathone non semel docuit Philo. Marsham. Can. Chron. pag. 79.*

³ *Sanchoniatho* cannot possibly be so antient a writer, as he is represented; if his translator has transmitted to us the real and genuine sentiments of his author. He has a remark upon the *Grecian* writers; which, though very just, if applied to later times, yet was by no means true in the age, when he is supposed to have lived: 'Οι δε Ἕλληνες ευφύια πάντας υπερβαλλομενοι τα μεν πρωτα πλειστα εξιδιωσαντο, και τοις προκοσμημασι ποικιλως εξετραγωδησαν, ταις τε των μυθων ηδουαις θελγειν επινοουντες παντοιως επωικιλλον. Ευθεν Ἡσιόδου κ. τ. λ. *Euseb. Lib. i. Cap. 10. pag. 39.* Could these be the observations of a writer contemporary with *Semiramis*, and prior to the war of *Troy*; as *Sanchoniatho* is supposed to have been? or rather, has the character, here given of the *Grecians*, the least resemblance to that people at so early a season? The strictures are certainly the remarks of a much later historian.

luded to under this typical representation; it was, I believe, but imperfectly understood by the *Phenicians*; and is derived to us still more obscurely, by being transmitted through a secondary channel. The story is not uniformly told; and is besides deeply enveloped in fable. Indeed, the whole of what is left us from *Santhoniatbo* is a mixture of *Egyptian* and *Canaanitish* mythology, together with that of *Arabia*, *Chaldea*, and other oriental nations: all which is blended together in a very confused and inconsistent manner, and embarrassed with a contradictory theogony. There may be observed in it some faint traces of the dispersion of mankind, and of the first peopling the countries above mentioned: to which are annexed the names of the first founders of the families, who made settlements in these parts. But the whole is so mixed, that it is difficult to sift out the truth. *Kronus* is said to be the same as *Il*, or *Ilus*; and is represented as above ⁴ *Adodus*, the king of the gods, and *Demaroos*, who was interpreted *Jupiter*: nay, he was superiour even to *Astarte*, the great empress of heaven: yet is afterwards degraded to a petty prince of *Canaan*, who reigned at *Byblus*; and who is said to have built him an house, and to have walled it round for his security. These circumstances are inconsistent. *Kronus* was originally esteemed the supreme deity; as is manifest from his being called *Il* and *Ilus*. It was the same name, as the *El* of the *Hebrews*; and, according to *St. Jerome*, was one of the ten names of God. ⁵ *Phœnicibus Il, qui Hebræis El, quod est unum de decem nominibus Dei.* *Damascius* in the life of *Isidorus*, as it occurs in *Photius*, mentions that *Kronus* was worshipped by people of those parts under the name of *El*. Φοινικες, και Συροι του Κρονου Ηλ, και Βηλ, και Βολαθην επονομαζουσι. Now *El* was the name of the supreme deity; and was admitted as such originally

⁴ Ασάρτη ή μεγιστη, και Ζευς Δημαροος, και Αδωδος βασιλευς Θεων, εκαστου λευου της χωρας Κρονου γνωμη.

⁵ *Hieron. Epist. 136. ad Marcellum.*

nally among all the nations of the east. They, who applied this name to the ⁶sun, still looked up to that object of their adoration, as the chief being, and lord of all things. *Kronus* I have before shewn to have been a transposition from *Con-orus*, "the prince of light;" which was properly a title of the Deity. *El* was the same as *Elioun*, the ἥλιος of the *Greeks*, who is termed by *Sanchoniatho* "the most high:" Ελιουν, ὁ καλεσμενος ὑψιστος. He had no one superiour, nor antecedent to himself; as may be proved from the same author: αυχμων δε γενομενων, τας χειρας ορεγειν ες ουρανους προς τον ἥλιον τειτον γαρ, φησι, Θεον ενομιζον μονον, Ουρανν Κυριον, Βεελσαμην καλευντες. *Kronus* therefore, could not, according to the principles of the very people appealed to, have sacrificed his son to his father: for he was the chief and original deity, and had no one above him, to whom he could make such offering. *Ouranus*, to whom he is erroneously thought to have exhibited this sacrifice, is the same as *El* and *Elioun*; being another title of the same person. It is a transposition of *Ain Aur*, or *Our*, "the fountain of light;" which the *Greeks* rendered *Our-ain*, and thence constituted *Ouranus* and *Ouranie*. *Ouranus* was taken by them for the vast expanse of the heavens; but was originally no other than the orb of day, from whence all light is derived: under which symbol God was worshipped in the first dawning of idolatry; till the reality became obscured by the semblance, and was in the end totally lost under repeated representations: every attribute, and every title being personated. *Anobret*, by whom *Kronus* is said to have had a son, and who is introduced as a feminine, is by *Bochart* supposed to signify *one conceived by grace*. It may be so: yet I cannot help thinking, that it is the same as *Ouranus*; and however it may have been by the *Greeks* differently constructed, and represented

⁶ *Servius* in Virg. *Æneid*. Lib. 1. de Belo Phœnice: *Omnes in istis partibus Solem colunt, qui istorum linguâ Hel dicitur.*

See *Vossius* de Idolat. Vol. 1. Lib. 2. Cap. 4.

ed as the name of a woman; yet it is reducible to the same elements as the former; and is from the same radix, though differently modified. I take it to have been originally *Ain Ober*: and as *Melech* ⁷ *Ober* signifies "the prince of light;" *Ouc Ober*, "the lord of light;" I imagine *Ain Ober* to be "the fountain of light;" framed by a like analogy, and made an emblem of the divine emanation.

I have been obliged to take these pains, in order to determine, who the deity was, whom the *Phenicians* are supposed to have copied in this particular: and at the same time to show, that nothing could have preceded for them to imitate; but that what they did was a type, and representation of something to come. It is the only instance of any sacrifice in the gentile world, which is said to be *mystical*; and it is attended with circumstances, which are very extraordinary. *Kronus*, we find, was the same as *El*, and *Elioun*: and he is termed Ὑψίστος, and Ὑψουρανιος. He is moreover said to have had the *Elohim* for his coadjutors; ⁸ Συμμαχοὶ Ἰλὲ τε Κρόνου ἑλόμεν ἐπεκλήθησαν. He had no father to make any offering to: for he was the father of all, and termed Κύριος Οὐρανε by the confession of the author, by whom the account is given. These sacrifices therefore had no reference to any thing past, as I have before mentioned; but alluded to a great event, to be accomplished afterwards. They were instituted probably in consequence of a prophetic tradition, which, I imagine, had been preserved in the family of *Esau*, and transmitted through his posterity to the people of *Canaan*. The account is, to be sure, mixed with much extraneous matter; and has been dressed up, and adapted to the *Grecian* taste. But let us make some allowance for the colouring; and divest it, as far as we can,

⁷ Many instances occur of the word מלך being rendered at different times and by different authors, *Aur*, *Aver*, *Aber*, *Ober*. Hence *Melech Ober* of *Hesychius*, of which I have before treated.

⁸ *Euseb. Præp. Evang.* pag. 37.

can, of fable; and we may possibly arrive at the truth, which is concealed beneath. The mystical sacrifice of the *Phenicians* had these requisites, that *a prince was to offer it*; and *his only son was to be the victim*: and as I have shewn, that this could not relate to any thing *prior*; let us consider, what is said upon the subject, as *future*, and attend to the consequence. For if the sacrifice of the *Phenicians* was a type of *another* to come; the nature of this last will be known from the representation, by which it was prefigured. According to this, *El*, the *supreme* deity, whose associates were the *Elohim*, was in process of time to have a son, *αγαπητον*, well beloved, *μονογενη*, his only begotten: who was to be conceived, as some render it, of *grace*: but according to my interpretation, of *the fountain of light*. He was to be called ⁹ *Jeoud*, whatever that name may relate to; and to be *offered up as a sacrifice to his father*, *λυτρον*, by way of *satisfaction*, and *redemption*, *τιμωροῖς δαίμοσι*, to atone for the sins of others, and avert the just vengeance of God; ¹ *αυτι της παντων φθορας*, to prevent universal corruption, and at the same time, *general ruin*. And it is farther remarkable; *he was to make this grand sacrifice*, *βασιλικῶ σχηματι κεκοσμημενος*, *invested with the emblems of royalty*. These, surely, are very strong expressions: and the whole is an aggregate of circumstances highly significant, which *cannot be the result of chance*. All, that I have requested to be allowed me in the process of this recital, is this simple supposition, that *this mystical sacrifice was a type of something to come*: how truly it corresponds to that, which I imagine it alludes to, I submit to the reader's judgement. I think, it must necessarily be esteemed a most wonderful piece of history.²

O F

⁹ Supposed by some to be the same as *Jebid*. Gen. 22. v. 1.

¹ Δυναὶ την ψυχην λυτρον αυτι πολλων. *Unum pro multis dabitur caput.*

² See *Porph.* de Abstin. Lib. 2. pag. 225.

Vossius de Idol. Vol. 1. Lib. 1. Cap. 18. pag. 142, 143. Vol. 1. Lib. 2. Cap. 2. pag. 322, 325.

Mar-

OF
BABYLON IN EGYPT:
AND
SOME OTHER CITIES,

Whose Situations have not been truly ascertained.

I Have made mention of the city *Babylon* in *Egypt*, and have supposed it to have been built by the *Cuseans*, who were *Babylonians*. This city was situated on an eminence, that was part of the hill of *Arabia*, where were the *Latomiae*, or quarries, whence the stones are said to have been brought for the construction of the pyramids. It was on the eastern side of the

Marsham. Can. Chron. Sec. V. Παιδογυσια. pag. 78.

Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 10. pag. 38, 40. Lib. 4. Cap. 16. pag. 156.

There was a remarkable festival among the *Babylonians* and *Persians*, called by *Berosus* Σακεια, and attended with a particular sacrifice. It is described very fully by *Dio Chrysostom* (Orat. quart. de Regno.) He calls it την των Σακκων έορτην: his words are worth transcribing. Ουκ εννενοηκας την των Σακκων έορτην, ην Περσαι αγασι; λαβοντες των δεσμωτων ένα των επι θανατω, καθιζουσιν εις τον θρονον τε βασιλεως, και την εσθητα διδοασιν αυτω την αυτην, και τρυφαν, και ταις παλλακαις χρησθαι τας ημερας εκεινας ταις βασιλεως; και εδεις εδεν κολουει ποιειν, ων εβλεται. Μετα δε ταυτα αποδυσαντες, και μαστιγωσαντες, εκρεμασαν. Εκρεμασαν επι ξυλης: *patibulo suffigebant*.

See *Athenæus*, Lib. 14. Cap. 10. and the notes of *Jf. Casaubon*.

the *Nile*, over against *Cercafora*, and the extreme point of *Delta*: and likewise fronted the pyramids on the other side of the river. Every writer, that mentions it, speaks of it as the work of *Babylonians*; but they differ about the time. According to ¹*Strabo*, it was built by some *Babylonians*, who revolted, and took shelter in these parts: but he says nothing farther of their history, or of the age, in which they lived. ²*Diodorus Siculus* attributes it to the same people; and mentions it as an opinion, that they came into *Egypt* with *Semiramis*; but that it was more probable, that they were some captives brought from *Babylonia* by *Sesostris*. ³*Josephus* differs from them both; and supposes it to have been built by some soldiers of *Cambyfes*. This contrariety of evidence in the writers specified shows, that they spoke only by guess, and had nothing authentic to determine them. In one point only they are agreed, that it was the work of *Babylonians*. In respect to *Semiramis*, the accounts of her reign are very short, and obscure, and very much mixed with fable. As to her coming with an army into *Egypt*, *Diodorus*, who mentions this circumstance, does not himself believe it. The history of *Sesostris* is equally uncertain. The time of his reign cannot be fixed within a thousand years. When was he in *Babylonia*? and what captives did he ever bring from thence? The whole is a mere surmise. Lastly, if it was built, as *Josephus* supposes, by some soldiers of *Cambyfes*; it must have existed at the time *Herodotus* lived, and he would have taken notice of it. He was upon the spot, and is particularly exact about this part of the country. He mentions more than once the hill of *Arabia*, and the quarries, that were in it: close by which quarries, and upon the same eminence, *Babylon* is represented to have stood. I do not love to make inferences
from

¹ Lib. 17. pag. 1160.

² Lib. 1. pag. 52.

³ Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 15.

from the silence of authors. Yet it is scarce to be imagined, that ⁴*Herodotus* should be so particular about this hill, and every thing relating to it; and yet omit a principal city upon it, if such a city, or even fortrefs, had then flourished: especially as he lived but a few years after the supposed construction: yet diligent and accurate as he is, he is silent upon this head. Hence it cannot be supposed to have been so recent, or to have been inhabited in his time. If it had been of so late date, it is scarce credible, that both *Diodorus* and *Strabo* should be ignorant of this circumstance, and *Josephus* alone apprised of it: and that *Herodotus*, if he were acquainted with it, should suppress it. What *Josephus* alludes to, was certainly the rebuilding of this place, and it's being a second time inhabited. The history of it I imagine to have been this. It was a city of great antiquity, and undoubtedly built by the ⁵*Cuseans*, when they came first from *Babylonia*; and was the same as *Litopolis*: at least it was a citadel or garrison to that town. After the expulsion of the *Cuseans*, it lay in great measure deserted; being on the *Arabian* side of the *Nile*, and therefore neglected; and the name of it was almost antiquated and lost. After the conquest of *Egypt*, that country became a receptacle for many nations: and this part was particularly occupied by strangers. Some *Babylonians* might settle here: it is certain many of the *Jews* did, after their captivity, especially in the time of the *Ptolemies*: and the hill, on which *Babylon* stood, still retains the name of "the hill of the *Jews*." By some of these people probably this city was rebuilt, and recovered it's original name. Thus much we may gather ⁶from *Jose-*

⁴ *Herodotus*, Lib. 2. pag. 181.

⁵ In this all writers agree, that it was the work of *Babylonians*, but differ about the time.

⁶ *Josephus* had perhaps said more truly, that it lay in ruins after their departure: for they lived there, and seem to have rebuilt it: but upon their departure it again lay desolate.

Josephus to confirm, what I am proving: that *Litopolis* was a very ancient place, and in ruins, when the children of *Israel* left *Egypt*: that it was a place of general rendezvous at their departure; from which time for many ages it lay neglected; ⁷ Βαβυλων γὰρ ὕστερον κτιζέται ἐκεῖ: “for *Babylon* was built “there long afterwards:” so that he allows *Litopolis* (or, as he erroneously calls it, *Letopolis*) to have been the same as *Babylon*, though he differs about the time of its construction. *Strabo* indeed distinguishes between these two places; making *Litopolis* a town, and *Babylon* φρερίον ἐρυμνον, a strong citadel or fortress: but they were certainly contiguous, being situated on the same spot.

⁷ Antiq. Jud. Lib. 2. Cap. 15.

OF THE
CITY OF ORUS,
AND THE
CITY ABARIS.

THE *Greeks* by their modifications of words, and unnecessary terminations often caused names of quite a different meaning and etymology to become nearly the same in sound. There have been by this means two cities in *Egypt* confounded, which ought necessarily to be placed in a proper light; as they stood in the vicinity of each other, and their history is of great consequence in this inquiry. The city *Aur*
at

at the top of *Delta* was called *Auris* and *Avaris*, as I have shewn: and the subordinate district was named in the same manner from it. When the *Shepherd* king and his people are said to have been driven to their city *Avaris*, and there pent up in a fortification of 10000 arouras in extent; it must mean the land of *Cushan*, which was thus fortified, and was probably of these dimensions. Some copies of *Josephus* call this place *Abaris*; but it is a mistake, as may be proved from ¹*Eusebius*, who writes it truly *Αναρις*, *Avaris*: and as he quotes the passage from *Josephus*, we may infer that this was the true reading both in *Josephus* and *Manetho*. There would have been no impropriety in terming the city *Avaris*, *Abaris*, according to the *Grecian* manner of inflexion: only in this place it causes a great ambiguity, as there is a city very near called *Abaris*, of a different meaning and derivation. This has not been taken notice of; but it is apparent, if we attend to the history. The former was by the natives stiled *Aur*, or “the city of *Orus*.” the latter, the city *Abarim*, or *Habarim*. This, which had the better title to the name of *Abaris*, stood, according to *Manetho*, ² πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τῆς Βεβασίτης ποταμῆς, in *Arabia*, to the east of the *Bubastic* stream; and was close by *Babylon*, which seems to have been a citadel to it. It was directly over against the city of *Orus*, and close by the quarries: on which account it was called afterwards *Lithopolis*. It is said by *Manetho* to have been given to those *Israelites*, who were obliged to work in the quarries, for a retreat after their daily labour. This people were by the *Egyptians* always stiled the *Hebrews*: and with great propriety; for it was their gentile name. The wife of *Potiphar* says; ³ “See, he hath brought “in an *Hebrew* unto us to mock us.”—“The *Hebrew* servant “which thou hast brought unto us, came in unto me to mock “me.”

¹ *Euseb.* Præp. Evang. Lib. 10. Cap. 13.

² *Joseph.* contra Apion. Lib. 1. § 14.

³ *Gen.* 39. v. 14, 17.

“me.” 4 “There was there with us a young man, an Hebrew, servant to the captain of the guard.” By the same analogy this place, which was given to the *Israelites*, must naturally be called by the *Egyptians* “the Hebrew city.” Now the city of the *Hebrews* is no other than *Air Habarim*, called *Abaris* by the *Greeks*. When *Pharaoh's* daughter saw the child *Moses* in the water, she said, 5 *De pueris Hebræorum est iste*; העבריים מלך. — “It is one of the children of the *Habarim*, “or *Hebrews*.” I have mentioned before, that the *Egyptian* language, though it was different from the *Hebrew*, yet is said by *St. Jerome* and others to have retained great affinity to it: and in respect to the names of places, and of people, there could not be any great variation. But, although I imagine that this place was called in the time of the *Israelites*, the *Hebrew* city; yet I believe, that the name was originally given for another reason; though the etymology be ultimately the same. It is to be observed, that this city stood exactly in the passage towards upper *Egypt*; for the defence of which it was built by the first *Shepherd* king. The meaning of the name *Abarim* is likewise “the city of the passage:” of which name there were several places; such as “*Beth Abara* beyond “*Jordan*,” and a mountain of the same name near it, mentioned particularly by 7 *Moses*, as standing over against *Jericho* at the fords of the river; and named so from it's situation; 8 *ab Hebræo* עבר, *græcè diceretur το πειραιον, mons Jordani imminens ad Trajectus*. The etymology of this city in *Egypt* was the same, being given on a like account: for it was the key to upper *Egypt*, and stood at the passage of the *Nile*. It was derived from עבר, to pass, as was the name of the *Hebrews*: fo

4 *Gen.* 41. v. 12.

5 *Exodus*, 2. v. 6.

6 *John*, 1. v. 28.

7 *Deut.* 32. v. 49.

8 *Edw. Bernard.* in *Joseph. Ant. Jud. Lib.* 4. Cap. 8.

so that a twofold reason may be given for this name being originally imposed, and for it's being afterwards revived, and continued. Both names are from the same root, *Haber*. *Abram* was called *περατης*, as were all the *Hebrews*. ⁹ Περαιτης ἐρμηνεύεται Αβραμ. ¹ Παραγενομενος δε των ανασωθεντων τις, απηγγειλεν Αβραμ τω Περαιτη, instead of τω Έβραιω. ² Περαιν τε ποταμω παρφησαν οι πατερες υμων το απαρχεις. — Και ελαβον του πατερα υμων του Αβραμ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΑΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ, και ωδηγησα αυτον εν παση τη γη.

⁹ Origen.

¹ Gen. 14. v. 13.

² Joshua, 24. v. 2, 3.

O F
E T H A M,
AND THE
C I T Y B O U T H A M.

MANY of the places taken notice of in holy writ are described in after times by different authors: but there is one place mentioned in the *Mosaic* account of the march of the *Israelites*, which nobody has taken notice of, but *Herodotus*: this is, according to our version, *Etham*, on the edge of the wilderness; called *Boutous*, and *Boutoun* by the

Greek

¹ Exod. 13. v. 20.

Greek historian. There was a city of this name in lower *Egypt*, famous for its religious conventions and festivals, and for a particular reverence shewn to a poisonous species of mole. But the city, I am now treating of, was in *Arabia*, at some distance from the *Nile*, and in the way towards the *Red Sea*. Near this city was a very remarkable spot of ground, which *Herodotus* had the curiosity to visit. He went to inquire about the reality of the flying serpents, with which this place was supposed at times to swarm. And he says, that he was witness to the truth of the report; and saw the *exuviae* of them in great heaps, both the bones, and the scales, in quantity beyond conception. And this place, he tells us, where the scales lay in such abundance, was a narrow pass between two hills, that afforded an outlet into a great plain, which reached to the plain of *Egypt*; that is, to the top of *Delta*. And the history of it was this; that the winged serpents came early in the spring to this pass, in their flight from *Arabia* towards *Egypt*: but that the birds, called the *Ibis*, intercepted them at these streights, and prevented their proceeding any farther, by entirely destroying them.

² Εἰς δὲ χώρας τῆς Ἀραβίης κατὰ Βατρὸν πόλιν μαλίστα κη κείμενος· καὶ ἐς τὸ τοῦ χωρίου ἡλθον πυρρὰ νομενος περὶ τῶν πτερωτῶν ὀφίων· ἀπικομένος δὲ εἶδον ὅσα ὀφίων, καὶ ἀκανθὰς· πληθεῖ μὲν ἀδύνατα ἀπηγῆσθαι· σωροὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἀκανθῶν καὶ μεγάλοι, καὶ ὑποδέεσσοι, καὶ ἐλασσονες ἐπὶ τῶν. Πολλοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οὗτοι· ἐπὶ δὲ ὁ χώρος οὗτος, ἐν τῷ αἰ ἀκανθὰι κατακεχυαται, τοιοῦτος δὲ τις. Εὐβολὴ ἐξ οὐρεων σείνων ἐς πεδῖον μέγα· τὸ δὲ πεδῖον τὸ συναπτὸν τῷ Αἰγυπτίῳ πεδίῳ. Λόγος δὲ ἐστὶ, ἅμα τῷ εαρί πτερωτοὺς ὀφῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίης πετεσθαι εἰς Αἰγύπτου. Τὰς δὲ ἰβῖς, τὰς ὀρνίθας, ἀπάντωσας ἐς τὴν εὐβολὴν ταύτης τῆς χώρας οὐ παριέναι τὰς ὀφῖς, ἀλλὰ κατακτείνειν. The spot here spoken of was the second place of encampment, when the *Israelites* departed from *Egypt*. It was the *Etham* of the Scripture, according to our version: but seems by the *Egyptians* to have been called *Otham*.

Hence

² *Herod. Lib. 2. pag. 238. Edit. Weffelin.*

Hence in the translation of the *Seventy* it is so rendered:
³ Εξαράντες δε οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ Σοκχωθ, ἐσρατοπέδευσαν ἐν Οἰωμ.
 The city is mentioned by *Herodotus* to have been situated near a narrow pass; and like many other cities, which I have before treated of, was denominated from this circumstance, *Be Otham*, contracted *Boutham*: and so it is rendered in another part of the same translation; ⁴ Καὶ ἀπαράντες ἐκ Σοκχωθ, παρενεβαλον εἰς Βεθάν, ὃ ἐστὶ μέρος τι τῆς ἐρημίας. This is the *Boutous* and *Bouton* (Βετέν) of *Herodotus*; situated in *Arabia* beneath the mountain, and in the sandy plain, which extended from thence to *Egypt*.

³ *Exod.* 13. v. 20.

⁴ *Numb.* 33. v. 6.

OF OTHER

CITIES IN EGYPT,

AND OF THE

SITUATION OF ZOAN.

I Have mentioned, that lower *Egypt* was called *Delta*; being similar to the *Greek* letter of that name. Each of it's extremities was graced with a city, which in it's time was of great repute. At the eastern angle stood ¹*Pelufium*, 20 stadia from

¹ *Pelufium* was called *Sin* by the *Hebrews*, but by the natives both *Sin* and *Tin*. It signified the black sediment and foilage of the river, as well as the mud of the sea. The city received it's name from *Peles*, a chief

the sea, upon the brink of the *Arabian* desert: from whence it was separated by a stream, which it gave name to. Here was the general entrance into *Egypt* for those, who came from *Syria* and *Palestine*: and it was particularly fortified, to prevent any irruption from that quarter. At the other extrem to the west was the famous city *Alexandria*, built by the son of *Philip*, after his conquest of this country. It was for many ages the great emporium of the world; carrying on a most extensive commerce, of which it was itself the center. During the reigns of the *Ptolemies*, it was the seat of royal residence; till that family became extinct, and *Egypt* was made tributary to the *Romans*. These two cities were at the extremities of the basis. At the top or vertical angle was the city *Cercasora*; of which I have treated at large. Between *Alexandria* and *Pelusium* lay many places of note; whose situation has been tolerably well defined: yet, I know not how, very great mistakes have arisen, where they were least to be expected. The city *Sais*, one of the most celebrated in *Egypt*, and particularly famous for the worship of the goddess *Isis*, has by writers been strangely misplaced, together with the nome, that it gave name to. Here was the mystical statue of the goddess before mentioned, which is supposed to have been an emblem of divine wisdom, with this remarkable inscription; ² *Εγώ ειμι*

παν

chief of the *Caphthorim*, who settled in this part of *Egypt*; but migrated very early into *Canaan*. From *Peles Sin* was formed the *Pelusium* of the *Greeks*; and from *Peles Tin* was derived the *Philistim* of the *Hebrews*, and the *Palestina* of other nations. This people are alluded to *Amos*. 9. v. 7. and *Jeremiah*. 47. v. 4. It is observable, that the word *Tin* had in many languages the same signification, which it had in *Egypt*: and most names, in whose composition it is found, have some relation to mud and moisture; and denote something foul and morassy. Hence among the *Greeks*, *Τεναγη*, καδυδροι τοποι, η ποταμιος πληος: *Hesychius*. *Τεναγη*, διαβροχοι, καδυγροι τοποι, και ψηλωδη πελαγη: *Suidas*: it signified moist, and marshy places. One would almost imagine, that the name of the river *Tine*, and *Tinedale* were of the same etymology. See *Cambden's Britan.* Vol. 2. pag. 1073.

² *Plutarch* de *Iside et Osiride*.

παν το γεγονός, και ον, και εσομενον· και τον εμον πεπλον ουδεις πω
 θνητος απεκαλυψεν. The true situation of this place may be
 made evident from it's vicinity to others. *Alexandria* I have
 spoken of, as at the extream part of lower *Egypt* to the west.
 Not far from hence was the *Canobic* branch of the *Nile*, and
 a city upon it of the same name: and from the mouth of this
 river some chuse to make *Delta* commence; excluding *Alex-*
andria, that lay beyond it, from being a part of the triangle.
³ Ειτα το Κανωβικον σωμα, και η αρχη τε Δελτα. This was the
 most celebrated branch of the *Nile*, and what was chiefly
 navigated. The first city in passing up the stream was *Cano-*
bus; the next was *Naucratis*. *Herodotus* mentions them both
 in this light: ⁴ ες μεν γε Μεμφιν εκ Ναυκρατιος αναπλωντι: and, ες
 δε Ναυκρατιν απο θαλασσης και Κανωβη δια πεδιον πλεων: intimating,
 that as people sailed up the *Canobic* branch from the sea, they
 arrived first at *Canobus*, and next at *Naucratis*, in their way to
Memphis. They were therefore both on the same arm of the
Nile; both seaports, and not far from the mouth of the river.
 In the vicinity of *Naucratis* was the city *Saïs*, and it's nome,
 situated to the east. They are mentioned in conjunction by
⁵ *Pliny*, as neighbouring places: but are more particularly de-
 scribed by ⁶ *Strabo*; επι τω ποταμω Ναυκρατις· απο δε τε ποτα-
 μω δισχοινον διεχουσα η Σαῖς. *Ptolemy* speaks to the same pur-
 pose: ⁷ Σαίτης νομος, και μητροπολις Σαῖς, και προς τω μεγαλω πο-
 ταμω απο δυσμων Ναυκρατις πολις. The city *Naucratis* was to the
 west of *Saïs*; and upon the branch, that was called the great
 river, by which they meant the *Canobic*. This disposition is
 agreeable to the accounts of other writers; and is particularly
 confirmed by the *Notitia Ecclesiæ*, as is observed by *Cellarius*:

In.

³ *Strabo*. Lib. 17. pag. 1153.

⁴ Lib. 2. pag. 147.

⁵ *Plin*. Nat. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 11.

⁶ Lib. 17. pag. 1155.

⁷ *Geogr*. Lib. 4. Cap. 5.

⁸*In quâ [notitiâ] Saïs primæ Ægypti Provinciæ, quæ proxima Alexandria est, ascribitur. Saïs then was in the lower part of Delta, in the vicinity of Canobus and Naucratis; but nearer to the latter, διαχοινος ἀπὸ Νουκρατίας: that is, according to the greater schœnus, 15 miles to the east of it; according to the less, about half that distance. The situation of the other principal cities, that lay towards the basis of Egypt, may be known from the rout of ⁹Titus, when he marched towards Palestine and Judea. He set out from Alexandria to Nicopolis; and from thence passed by water to Thmuis: and from Thmuis he went to Tanis. The next place, that he halted at was Heracleopolis parva, the ancient Sethron; and from thence proceeded to Pelusium. The author of the Itinerary enumerates more places in this interval; and at the same time gives their several distances, beginning from the east.*

<i>Pelusium</i>	M. P.
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<i>Heracleus</i>	22
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<i>Thanis</i>	22
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<i>Thmuis</i>	22
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<i>Cyno.</i>	25
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<i>Tavam</i>	30
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<i>Andron</i>	12
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<i>Nithine</i>	12
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<i>Hermopol.</i>	24
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<i>Chercu</i>	24
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<i>Alexandria</i>	20
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In another place, describing the rout from *Pelusium* northward towards *Memphis*, he makes the first stage to be at *Daphne*, which was the ancient *Taphaanes* of the Scriptures, and lay from *Pelusium* 16 M. P. This abundantly shows, that *Tanis* and *Taphaanes* as well as *Pelusium* were different cities: their situation being too well determined to admit of any doubt.

Ta-

⁸ *Cellarii Ægyptus. pag. 18.*

⁹ *Josephus de Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 11.*

Tabpanbes, as it is sometimes written, was a place of royal residence in the days of the prophet ¹*Jeremiah*, who speaks of "the entry of *Pharaoh's* house in *Tabpanbes*." Above this was ²*Pharbethus* and it's nome: the purport of which I imagine to have been the seat or residence of *Pharaoh*.

I have been particularly careful to determine the situation of the ancient city *Sais*; as I may from thence be able to rectify some seeming mistakes both in the *Grecian* and *Roman* writers; and clear up the obscurity, which has from thence ensued. It is manifest from what I have before said, that this city was at no great distance from the sea, in the lower and most western part of *Delta*. Yet some writers describe it at the very summit of lower *Egypt*, in the vicinity of *Memphis*. *Mela* speaking of cities, that stood very high in the country, mentions this among others. ³*Earum clarissimæ procul a mari Sais, Memphis, Syene, Bubastus, Elephantis, et Thebæ.* *Plato* mentions a very considerable city of this name, the capital of a province; which he places towards the apex of *Delta*, where the *Nile* was first divided. ⁴Εἰς τις κατ' Αἰγυπτὸν ἐν τῷ Δέλτῳ, περὶ ὃ κατὰ κορυφὴν σχίζεται τὸ τῆς Νεῖλος ῥεῦμα, Σαΐτικὸς ἐπικαλούμενος νομὸς· τῆς δὲ τῆς νομῆς μεγίστη πόλις Σαῖς. This is not the position, which *Herodotus* gives to *Sais*: and as to *Strabo* and *Ptolemy*, who are in this point particularly clear, they likewise determine it quite a different way. How can we possi-

¹ *Jeremiah*. 43. v. 9.

² *Pharbethus* is by some said to signify a place for cattle, from *Phar*, an ox. It may be so: but it is generally applied to something of more consequence; and seems to represent either an habitation of men, or a temple of the gods. *Baalbeth* is interpreted *Heliopolis*, or "house of the sun:" *Beth Shan*, *Beth Aven*, *Beth Shemesb* are of the same purport. So *Beth El*, *Beth Rehob*, *Beth Saida*, *Beth Dagon*, *Beth Peor*, all relate either to temples, or else the habitations of princes: so that I can hardly imagine, that what is here meant is an ox-stall. I take *Pharbeth* to be a contraction for *Pharab-beth*, the house of *Pharaoh*.

³ *Lib. 1. Cap. 9. pag. 61. Edit. Gronovii.*

⁴ *In Timæo. Vol. 3. pag. 21. Edit. Serrani.*

possibly reconcile accounts so very opposite, and contradictory? These writers had all of them been upon the spot: *Ptolemy* was born in the neighbourhood of the city in dispute; and *Plato* resided thirteen years according to *Strabo*, or, as his *Epitomiser* perhaps more truly states it, three years in the part, of which he makes mention. The latter term is surely full sufficient for a person to get acquainted with the place of his residence. It is not possible, after such an interval, that he could mistake the name of it. We may be assured then, that this difference could not have originally subsisted in the writings of men so inquisitive and diligent; who were eye-witnesses to what they report. The source of this ambiguity arose doubtless from hence. The province, to which *Plato* alludes, is that, which in the sacred writings is called *ꝓꝝ*, *Tsavn*, or as it is termed in our translation, *Zoan*. This the *Grecians* took for *Sain*, an inflexion from *Sais*, the city, we have been so long treating of, and have called it by that name. That *Zoan* was called *Zavn* and *Tzavn*, is certain from so many people supposing it to be *Tanis*: for which they had no other reason, than a similitude of sound: they had not otherwise the least inducement to fix it there. *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Isidorus*, and many others suppose *Zoan* to have been *Tanis*: but, as I have before observed, they have nothing to alledge for it, but what *Bochart* has comprised in a short compass; *ex Tzobane vel Tzaban factum est Tanis, sedes Aulae Regiae*: which, though the inference be not true, yet shows, how the word is supposed to have been pronounced at different periods. It is on this account, that in the *Seventy* we find it rendered after this manner, where the *Psalmist* mentions, ⁶“the marvellous things, that God had done in the sight of the *Israelites*, in the land of *Egypt*, in the field of *Zoan*:” *θαυμάσια ἐν γῇ Αἰγυπτῷ, ἐν πεδίῳ Τανως*. — *Ὡς εἶπεν ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ τὰ σημεῖα αὐτοῦ,*

⁵ *Bochart's Sedes Aulae Regiae. Vol. 1. pag. 1103.*

⁶ *Pf. 78. v. 12. 43.*

Hence *Syncellus* calls the *Shepherds* in *Egypt Tanitæ*. pag. 103.

καὶ τὰ τεράτια αὐτῆς ἐν πεδίῳ Τανέως. For the same reason the Chaldee paraphrast expresses *Tzain* by *דַּיָּנוּ*, *Tanis*; all which shows plainly, how the original word was at different times pronounced; and that what was the *Zoan* of *Moses*, was the *Tzain* and *Zain* of after ages. This *Zain* the Greeks took for *Sain*, and from hence constituted a new nome and city of *Sais*.

In respect to *Tanis*, I do not believe, that it was ever the seat of royal residence, or at any time of much note. What reputation it may seem to have gained, has been entirely owing to it's being taken for *Zoan*: whence all the fame and magnificence of that ancient city has been transferred to this place; and several dynasties of kings have been likewise appropriated, to which it had no pretensions. Some represent it as a large place, though *Josephus* styles it *πολιχνην τινα Τανιν*. It is said to have subsisted by trade; having little else to depend on.

The situation of it was upon a great lake, about three miles from the sea; and like the other seaports in it's vicinity, it was bare of many conveniencies, and even of the necessaries of life.

⁸ *Lacus Alzar propè attingit lacum Tennis, distatque à mari salso (i. e. Mediterraneo) III. M. P. Iste lacus præfatus est ingens, et amplius terminis—Aqua hujus lacus Tennis, cum Nilus inundat tempore æstivo, dulcescit: cum autem hyberno tempore recedit usque ad æstatem, prævalet aqua maris, atque ideò salsa evadit.*

We have a like account from *Cassianus*: ⁹ *Thenesi Ægypti urbem appulimus, cujus incolæ ita mari vel salsis lacubus cinguntur, ut præ agrorum inopiâ commercium unicè exerceant, marisque opportunitate ditescant: quinetiam solo, nisi aliunde navibus adsportentur, ædibus ædificandis regeant.* As Egypt had seldom rain, and

⁷ *Josephus* of the march of *Titus*: *ἐκεῖθεν δὲ ἀποβάς ὁδεύει, καὶ κατὰ πολιχνην τινα Τανιν αὐλιζέται.* Bell. Jud. Lib. 4. Cap. 11.

⁸ *Geogr. Nubiens. Clim. 3. part. 3.*

⁹ *Cassiani. Collat. 2. Cap. 1.*

¹ *Est Insula in medio mari. Benj. Tudelens. pag. 126. and L'Empereur's notes, pag. 229. It is called at this day Tennes and Tenesse.*

and lower ²*Egypt* no springs, and this city was so situated as above described; let any one judge, if it could ever have been chosen for a place of residence by a series of kings. All places at the mouths of great rivers, and of a marshy situation, are highly inconvenient, and generally unwholesome. *Tanis* seems to have been destitute both of water and soil; and the whole country about it bad, especially towards *Pelusium*.

³ Μεταξύ δε τῶν Τανιτικῶν καὶ τῶν Πηλεσιῶν λιμνῶν, καὶ ἔλη μεγάλα καὶ συνεχῆ, κώμας πολλὰς ἔχοντα· καὶ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ Πηλεσιὸν κυκλῶ περι-
κείμενα ἔχει ἔλη, αἱ τινες βαρὰ θρᾶ καλῶσι, καὶ τελμάτα. Though

this part of the world was inhabited; yet we find it to be situated in the midst of lakes, abounding with swamps and morasses, and full of mud and sea ooze. It was for this reason, that *Alexander*, when he saw *Egypt* so finely circumstanced for commerce, chose to found a new city beyond the precincts of the country, rather than make use of any one already built: though there were some more opportunely situated for the trade, which was to be brought down the river; had they been equally fortunate in other particulars. It is a great pity, that men of learning will not consider the natural history of the places, they treat of, before they determine their situation; as it depends so much on this kind of knowledge. Had these things been sufficiently attended to, the best of the land of *Egypt* would never have been placed in the wilds of *Arabia*, nor in the salt marshes of *Tanis*. And although ⁴*Zoan* be represented by the name of *Tanis*; yet they should not have been led merely by sound, but have considered the true representation of the place, as it is to be found in the

Ex eo porrò [flumine] quod Pelusium prætersluit, alius derivatur abveus, qui in lacum conversus angustis faucibus mari conjungitur, ad cujus ripam Tenesse, antiquissima civitas, est condita. Leo African. Lib. 8. Cap. 1.

² Τῶν μὲν πρὸς θαλάττην μοναῖς ψεκασιν ἀραιαῖς λιπαίνοντων. *Philonis Vita Mosis.*

³ *Strabo. Lib. 17. pag. 1154.*

⁴ See *Bochart's Sedes Aulæ Regiæ. Vol. 1. pag. 1103.*

the original writings. Names may be varied and changed: but the context is not so easily perverted. This city and province is often mentioned with *Memphis*, and occurs always in the vicinity of upper *Egypt*, even according to the version of the *Seventy*, however they may miscall it. ⁵ ΕΞΕΛΙΠΟΝ ΟΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΤΑΝΕΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΨΩΘΗΣΑΝ ΟΙ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΕΣ ΜΕΜΦΕΩΣ· ΚΑΙ ΠΛΑΝΗΣΟΥΣΙΝ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΦΥΛΑΣ.—⁶ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΩ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΝΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΜΕΜΦΕΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ⁷ ΑΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΜΕΜΦΕΩΣ,—ΚΑΙ ΟΥΚ ΕΣΟΝΤΑΙ ΕΤΙ. ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΛΩ ΓΗΝ ΦΑΘΩΡΗΣ [*Patbros*], ΚΑΙ ΔΩΣΩ ΠΥΡ ΕΠΙ ΤΑΝΙΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΙΗΣΩ ΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΙΝ ΕΝ ΔΙΟΣΠΟΛΕΙ. All these places are high up in *Egypt*. But what puts the matter out of all dispute, is a passage in the book of *Judith*; where the country of *Rameffe* and *Goshen* is mentioned; and the chief cities of that part of the world, *Memphis*, and, as it is there termed, *Tanis* are pointed out, and geographical order apparently maintained. *Nebuchodonosor*, king of the *Affyrians*, when he was going to engage in a mighty war with *Arphaxad* of *Media*, ⁸ “sent unto all that dwelt in *Persia*, and “to all that dwelt westward, and to those that dwelt in *Cilicia*, and *Damascus*, and *Libanus*, and *Antilibanus*, and to “all that dwelt upon the sea coast; And to those among the “nations, that were of *Carmel*, and *Galaad*, and the higher “*Galilee*, and the great plain of *Esdrelom*; And to all that “were in *Samaria* and the cities thereof, and beyond *Jordan* “unto *Jerusalem*, and *Betane*, and *Chellus*, and *Kades*, and “the river of *Egypt*, and *Tapbnes*, and *Rameffe*, and all the “land of *Gefem*,” ΕΩΣ ΤΩ ΕΛΘΕΙΝ ΕΠΑΝΩ ΤΑΝΕΩΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕΜΦΕΩΣ: “Until you come above *Tanis*, and *Memphis*.” I have quoted at large; as nothing can be more curious, and exact, than this geographical series. And we may learn from this and the foregoing passages, that however the place in dispute may be

⁵ *Isaiab.* 19. v. 13.

⁶ *Ezekiel.* 30. v. 13, 14.

⁷ This part differs greatly from the original.

⁸ *Chap.* 1. v. 7, 8, 9.

be expressed, it was situated high in *Egypt*, and in the neighbourhood of *Memphis*. And as the authors of the *Greek* version resided in *Egypt*, and knew well the situation of *Tanis* on the sea coast, and had at the same time these evidences so immediately under their inspection; they must have been very blind and inattentive, if *they* were guilty of this misnomer. I cannot help thinking, that the mistake is owing to persons, who copied from them; and that in the original translation the word was *Ταανις*, which has since been changed to *Tanis*. Such alterations are sometimes to be observed in the version of the *Seventy*.

⁹ Where it is said in *Ezekiel*, Chap. 30. v. 15, "I will pour my fury upon *Sin* [*Pelusium*] the strength of *Egypt*;" it has been changed in the *Seventy* to *Sais*: και εκχεω τον θυμον μου επι Σαϊν, την ισχυν Αιγυπτου. This could hardly be an error in the original translator.

¹ The geography of the Scriptures is wonderfully clear and exact; and appears to great advantage, when compared with that of the ethnic writers. There is in the Acts of the Apostles a description of nations according to their situation, very similar to the account, which I have taken from the book of *Judith*. Πως ημεις ακνομεν εκαστες τη ιδιη διαλεκτω ημων εν η εγεννηθημεν; Παρθοι και Μηδοι και Ελαμιται, και οι κατοικοντες της Μεσοποταμιας, Ιουδαιαν τε και Κατωαδοκίαν, Ποντον και την Ασίαν, Φρυγίαν τε και Παμφυλίαν, Αιγυπτου και τα μερη της Λιβυης της κατα Κυρηνην, και οι επιδημουντες Ρωμαιοι, Ιουδαιοι τε και Προσηλυται, Κρητες και Αραβες, ακνομεν λαλωντων αυτων ταις ημετεραις γλωσσαις τα μεγαλεια τα Θεου. Εξισαντο δε παντες. *Acts* 2. v. 8, &c. What is mentioned, is concerning the gift of tongues at the feast of pentecost: when the *Jews*, and strangers, of all nations, who were come to the passover at *Jerusalem*, heard the Apostles speaking in the languages of every country.—"How hear we every man in our own language, wherein we were born? *Parthians*, and *Medes*, and *Elamites*, and the dwellers in *Mesopotamia*, and in *Judea*, and *Cappadocia*, in *Pontus*, and *Asia*, *Phrygia*, and *Pamphylia*; in *Egypt*, and in the parts of *Libya* about *Cyrene*, and strangers from *Rome*, both *Jews* and *Proselytes*, *Cretes* and *Arabians*, we do hear them speak in our tongues the wonderful works of God. And they were all amazed." I mention this, because I cannot help suspecting a slight mistake in the passage, as exhibited in our present copies. There seems to be a principal province omitted, where the *Jews* resided in *Asia*; and *Judea* is substituted, which could have had no place in the list. To say, that among the nations, residing at *Jerusalem* during the feast of pentecost,

I have mentioned, that this place, which has been rendered *Tanis* by the *Jews*, was by ethnic writers expressed *Sais*. The *Grecians*, I know not why, seem to have had a particular fancy in striking out, what is the final letter in the original word *πρ*, and changing it in many places, where they copied. Thus for *Ilium* they wrote *Ιλιος*; for *Pergamum* *Περγαμος*; for *Clemens* *Κλημης*, for *Crescens* *Κρησκης*, *Pudens* *Πεδης*. The word *קרן*, *Keren* was changed to *Κερας*; and *קובן* *Coben*, the chief person in the *Samothracian* mysteries, was expressed *Coes*: and it is remarkable, that *Josephus*, when he speaks of *Cain* and *Abel*, in his first book of the antiquities of the *Jews*, always calls the former *Καις*; which is exactly analogous to the expressing *Tsain* by *Sais*. ³ Προσηγορευετο δ' αυτων ο μεν πρωτος *Καις*. — *Καις* δε τα τε αλλα πονηροτατος ην. — Ενθεν ο *Καις* παροξυνθεις. Whence we may gather, that, if a *Grecian* writer be supposed to mention ⁴*Tsain*, he must call it *Sais*, according to the common usage of his language. What *Plato* terms *Σαιτικός νομος*, had been more truly expressed *Σαινιτικός* and *Τσαινιτικός*. So likewise in *Pomponius Mela*, the city near *Memphis*, mentioned among those so remote from the sea, might instead of *Sais*, have been with more propriety written *Tsais*, being the *Tsain*

of cost, were people of *Judea*, would be so unnecessary a truth, that we cannot suppose it would have been mentioned by the Apostle: and that these people of *Judea* should at all wonder to hear the Apostles speak in their tongue the wonderful works of God is a thing impossible: for their tongue was the language of the Apostles. The people here meant were, I imagine, the *Lydians*; in whose country, and near it, were the cities *Sardis*, *Thyatira*, *Colossæ*, *Laodicea*, in all which the *Jews* resided in great numbers: all that part of *Asia* was full of them. There is a geographical order observed in this detail of nations, as far as it could be maintained: which is interrupted by the mentioning of *Judea*. This country did not belong to the series: yet is introduced with the nations of *Asia minor*; though it was nearer to *Egypt*. The passage, I imagine, stood originally in this manner — Παρσοι, και Μηδοι, και Ελαμιται, και οι κατοικαντες Μεσοποταμιαν, Καππαδοκιαν τε και Λυδιαν, κ. τ. λ.

² 2 *Timothy*. 4. v. 10. 21.

³ *Josephus* Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

⁴ The author means only in respect to the termination.

of the *Egyptians*: but this would not have been consonant to the analogy of the two languages.⁵

What has been here said may in some degree remedy a difficulty, which occurs in *Manetho*, where he speaks of the city *Abaris*. He tells us, that the first *pastor* king *Salatis* built it in the nome of *Sais*, on the east side of the river of *Bubastus*.
 Ἐυρων δὲ [Σαλατὶς] ἐν νομῷ τῷ Σαΐτῃ πόλιν επικαιροτάτην, κείμενην μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολὴν τῆς Βυβαστικῆς ποταμῆς, καλεσμένην δ' ἀπὸ τίνος ἀρχαίας θεολογίας Ἀβαρίμ, ταύτην ἐκτίσσε.⁶ Now this city *Abaris* I have shewn to have been over against the apex of *Delta*, where the *Nile* was first divided, at a great distance from the city and nome of ⁷*Sais*: and the river of ⁸*Bubastus* was equally remote: so that these circumstances cannot be reconciled, but upon the principles above.

Syncellus seems to have perceived a mistake; and ⁹endeavours to amend it in another manner, by substituting for the *Saitic*, the *Sethroitic* nome. This is an arbitrary manner of proceeding; and not supported by any authority: but it favours his notion, that *Zoan* was *Tanis*, to which *Sethron* was next in situation. But there was no relation between *Zoan* and *Tanis*: and they who have maintained this notion, have been misled by a similitude of sound; and that but a faint resemblance: which at any rate would be too fallacious to found an opinion upon, when unsupported by other ¹evidence.

We may learn from what has been said, that the name of the province *Zain* was of antient date; and the memory of it

⁵ They have no words, which begin with those double letters.

⁶ *Joseph.* contra Apion. Lib. 1. § 14.

⁷ *Sais*, at the distance of three days sailing down the river from *Cairo*; called now *Se al Hajar*, or ancient *Sais*. *Egmont* and *Heyman*. Vol. 2. pag. 113.

⁸ The river of *Bubastus* was the upper part of the great *Pelusiatic* branch of the *Nile*; at the commencement of which the city *Abaris* was situated.

⁹ *Syncellus*. pag. 61.

¹ Had he called it the *Sethite* nome, instead of the *Sethroite*, he would have been nearer the truth; as hereafter will appear.

it almost effaced in the time of the *Grecians*. *Plato* however, and *Mela* have preserved it; but with some variation. They both describe it at the very top of lower *Egypt*, at the first division of the *Nile*. I have abundantly shewn, that the land of *Goshen* was there; that it was a place of pastures, the plain of *Egypt*, and the particular spot, where the *Israelites* resided: in other words it was the field of *Zoan*. As the *Saïs* of *Plato* and *Mela* was here, I think that there can be no doubt, but it was the same place, of which we have been treating, the *Zain* or *Zoan* of the Scriptures.

It may be thought, that I have inferred more from *Plato*, than is contained in his words — ² περι ὃ κατὰ κορυφὴν σχίζεται τὸ τῆς Νείλου ῥεῦμα: which may be said not to have been designed to describe the situation of the nome and city of *Saïs*, but to define the figure of *Delta*. If this be the case, *Plato* is guilty of great impropriety; and his drift is unaccountable. The exact situation of cities is defined by others in their vicinity, and by the provinces, which are nearest. But *Plato*, in mentioning a city, dwells upon circumstances the most remote from it; and instead of a general description of the place gives a partial account of the country. What is it to the purpose in the introduction of a story, which related to *Saïs*, to mention, that the *Nile* was divided at the top of *Delta*; unless it was designed to signify, that the city was in the vicinity of that part of *Egypt*? Besides, it is not *Plato* only, who places a city in these parts; but *Mela* likewise: and we learn from *Eusebius*, that the first *Pastor* king, who reigned, was a *Saïte*: and that prince was far enough removed from lower *Saïs*.

Manetho indeed calls this king by the name of *Salatis*: but *Eusebius*, who seems to have been particularly diligent and inquisitive, calls him, as I have before observed, *Saïtes*; intimating, that he was of the province of *Saïs*. *Africanus* mentions him in the same manner: but adds farther, that it was his

² In *Timæo*. Vol. 3. pag. 21.

his real name; which he did not take from the province, but bequeathed the name to it: ἀπ' οὗ καὶ ὁ Σαΐτης νομος ἐκλήθη. If the province, which was called after him, was by the Greeks termed *Saites*, it is very manifest that the name of this prince was *Sait* or *Said*; a name very common among the *Arabians* at this day; and which occurs in histories of the most remote antiquity. He held the greater part of *Egypt* tributary; but was properly termed king of *Zoan*: for that was particularly the *Cusæan* province. This title in the original language was *Melech Al Tzaan* or *Tsain*: but for *Al Tsain* the Greeks by mistake put *Salatin*; wherein there is no essential change, but a meer transposition of letters: which arose from their not being expert in reducing the elements to order: just as they formed *Ourotal* from אֵל אוּרַתַל. It is to be observed, that this person was certainly king of this part of *Egypt* called *py Tsain*: and the name *Salatis* naturally resolves itself into words of the same composition and purport: which we cannot suppose to be merely the effect of chance. We may therefore, I think, be satisfied, that the *Salatis* of *Manetho* and *Josephus* was derived from the *Melech al Tsain* of the *Cusæans*, changed to *Salatin*, and with the Greek termination *Salatis*.

What I have said may remedy the seeming contradiction, which has subsisted between writers about these two cities of the same name: but it does not precisely certify the situation of that, which is mentioned by *Plato*: the other is sufficiently determined. The upper part of *Delta* has been amply described: the land of *Goshen* was there; which I have shewn was a portion of the field of *Zoan*: consequently in these parts must have been the city in request. According to *Plato*, the city *Sais* was near the point of *Delta*, where the *Nile* was first divided; and where stood the city *Cercafora*. If we suppose this to be the exact situation of *Tsais*, these two must have been one city under different names. This is possible: but there are circumstances, which render it highly improbable.

In

In respect to *Cercasora*, I have described it as the first city in *Delta*, which occurred in passing down the *Nile*: but it is not spoken of as a large city; and was besides in the neighbourhood of *Heliopolis*, to which it was in every respect inferior. On the other hand, the *Sais* of *Plato* is represented as a principal city, if not the most considerable of any; *μεγίστη πολις Σαῖς*; a character not at all applicable to *Cercasora*. I should therefore be induced to think that *Heliopolis* was the city alluded to under the name of *Sais*: that it was the *Zain* or *Zoan* of the Scriptures; where the sacred writers seem to have fixed the residence of the *Pharaohs*, during the abode of the *Israelites* in *Egypt*. Hence *Joseph* took his wife, the daughter of *Potipherah*: and there are not wanting other writers, who affirm, that the kings of *Egypt* did reside here in those times. ⁴Και πολλῶν βασιλεῶν ἡγουμένων, Παλμανωθῆς ἐβασίλευσε τῶν περὶ Ἡλιεπολιν τόπων; so that if this authority may be admitted, *Heliopolis* was certainly *Zoan*. As to the country of this name, I imagine it to have been the province originally possessed by the *Cuseans*, where they particularly inhabited; the same as the land of *Goshen*. The name of it was grown obsolete in the time of the *Grecians*; and was otherwise neglected by them: for they omitted the genuine names of places, which they treated of, as barbarous; and substituted others of their own framing, such as *Diospolis*, *Panopolis*, *Cynopolis*, *Licopolis*, *Pelusium*, names given from the supposed object of worship in those cities, and from other mistaken notions. And as they changed *Tsain* to *Sais*, it caused so much uncertainty between that city and the other of the

³ Καὶ μαθὼν ποιμένας εἶναι τὰς μετ' αὐτῆς, συνεχώρησεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐν Ἡλίῃ πόλιν κατοικησιν. *Zonaras*, Lib. 1. Cap. 11. It was not at *Heliopolis* that the *Israelites* resided, but in *Goshen*; which in the time of the *Greeks* was indeed included, and absorbed in the name of *Heliopolis*. These evidences however bring us near the scene of action: and show, that in this part of *Egypt* these occurrences did happen.

⁴ *Chron. Pasch.* pag. 63.

the same name, that they were glad to define it by a circumstance peculiar to itself, and call it the *city of the Sun*: which was a name, that did not properly relate to the city, but to the temple, so greatly celebrated; called *On*, *Ain*, and *Ain Shemesh*; by them interpreted *Heliopolis*. And as they were fond of attributing to every city a nome of the same name, they called the province the *Heliopolitan* nome; so that the original name both of *Goshen*, and of *Tsaan* became in a manner obliterated and lost. Of the last some faint traces only are to be found in the authors, which I have had recourse to, in *Plato*, *Manetho*, and *Pomponius Mela*.

It is extremely remarkable, that among the many dynasties of *Egyptian* kings, who reigned at different places, there is no list transmitted to us of any *Heliopolitan* princes. Yet *Heliopolis* was a seat of royalty: and kings did certainly reign there; of whom there are many memorials. The only reason, that can be supposed for this omission is, that they were called kings of *Tsaan*, and on that account have by mistake been transferred to *Tanis*: of whose kings there are several dynasties; though it was not a place of great eminence. Some too have been attributed to *Sais*.

I made mention lately of a prophecy in *Ezekiel*, from which much, I think, may be inferred to the present purpose. The part of it, which I shall make use of, stands thus in our translation: "And I will make *Pathros* desolate, and will set
" fire in *Zoan*, and will execute judgements in *No*. And I
" will pour my fury upon *Sin*, the strength of *Egypt*; and I
" will cut off the multitude of *No*." There seems to be a secret allusion in this prophecy to the history, and circumstances of each place specified: and the punishments threatened are particularly adapted to the cities, which are to suffer. *Pathros* was the populous *Thebaic* province, the capital of which was immense: having, if we may credit *Homer*, no less
than

than an hundred gates. *No*, translated *Memphis* by the *Seventy*, was equally populous: and whereas other cities had their particular gods and particular rites, this seems to have been devoted to every species of idolatry. *Pelusium* I have before described, as the barrier of *Egypt*; wherein all their confidence was placed. Now we are informed by the prophecy, that the multitudes of *Pathros* were to be diminished, and the place to become void and desolate. *Memphis* was to incur more fearful judgements: it was to become an heap of carnage; and God's power was to be visibly exerted over it's idols. *Sin*, or *Pelusium*, the strong city, has this particular threat, that it was to be taken by storm, and borne down by fury and violence. The denunciation upon *Zoan* is different from all: "I will set fire in *Zoan*;" which is rendered in the *Seventy*, και δωσω πυρ επι Τανιν. Why should this city, however named, be particularly doomed to fire? What connection could there be between the place, and the punishment, to which it was devoted? Doubtless, the inhabitants were worshippers of that element, by which they were to be destroyed: and the city, called by the *Seventy* *Tanis*, and in the *Hebrew* *Zoan*, was no other than *Heliopolis*; a point I have long been endeavouring to prove. Indeed all *Egypt* worshipped *Osiris*, or the sun: but at *Heliopolis* was his magnificent temple, and particular rites. Hence it is said in the same chapter, that God "will set fire in *Egypt*;" but the place particularly mentioned is *Zoan*. On which account I cannot help repeating, what I have before said, that where the *Seventy* now mention *Tanis*, και δωσω πυρ επι Τανιν, it was in the original translation Τσαν, or Τσανι. There is a particular allusion in this prophecy, which cannot be made applicable to *Tanis*: but in respect to *Heliopolis* there is a manifest ⁷ propriety, and correspondence:

all

⁶ Κλεις της Αιγυπτου και εισοδου και εξοδου. *Suidas*.

⁷ There is all through this chapter a great difference between the original and the Greek. For *No*, the *Seventy* read *Diospolis*: and, verse 16, instead

all which is lost, if the words come to be applied to any other city in ⁸Egypt.

I have taken notice, that many mistakes have arisen from the different manner of writing, which subsisted between the eastern and western nations. Some instances I have produced, where there has been an apparent transposition of the letters, particularly in the name of *Salatis*; which I have supposed to have been *Al Tsaïn* misplaced. It is to be observed that there are four lists of the *Shepherd* kings, transmitted to us by as many different historians; who vary from one another essentially. *Eusebius*, whom I esteem as the most diligent in his inquiries, has struck off in his account the names of several princes, which are contained in the lists of other writers. Among others, the name of *Staan* occurs not in the list, which he exhibits; and indeed is only to be found in that of *Africanus*. I think, I can perceive a corruption in it; and am persuaded, that the original word was *Tsaan*, changed by the transposition of a single letter to *Staan*. It is the same as *Salatis*, or *Al Tzain*; and for this very reason I imagine it to have been omitted by *Eusebius*. He saw plainly, that it related to the same person, as the other;

and instead of "*Sin* shall have great pain," it is in their version, *ταραχὴ ταραχθήσεται ἡ Συήνη*. If we may suppose this to have been the original reading, it alludes manifestly to the *Cataracts*: and the meaning is, that *Syene*, however habituated to noise, shall be deafened with a superiour noise, with the clamours and tumults of war, which shall overpower the sound of the great waterfall. The *Cataracts* are immediately above the city *Syene*, at the extremity of higher *Egypt*.

⁸ I was once inclined to think, that *Xoïs* might have been the *Zoan* of the Scriptures: but it lies too low to be made to correspond; though it is somewhat similar in sound, and has therefore as good pretensions as *Tanis*. *Strabo* mentions it as a mediterranean city, at the division of the *Sebennytic* and *Phatnic* streams: *ἐν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆ Σεβεννυτικῆς καὶ Φατνικῆς ὁματός* *Χοῖς* *ἔστι καὶ νησος, καὶ πόλις ἐν τῷ Σεβεννυτικῷ νομῷ*. Lib. 17. pag. 1154.

Ptolemy speaks of a nome of the same name: *Χοῖτης νομός καὶ μητροπολις* *Χοῖς*. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. But he places it among the lower districts. It was too far removed, and too obscure and contracted to have been the *Zoan* of the sacred writers.

and that it was merely a word mis-spelt, which *Africanus* could not reduce to order; but taking it for an additional name, had blindly inserted it in his list of the *Shepherd* kings. *Janias*, the fifth in the list of *Manetho*, is liable to the same exceptions. I very much suspect, that the original was *Zanias*, the same as *Tsain*, and *Al Tsain*, by the *Greeks* called *Salatis*. It is plain that there has been a great corruption of the names, which occur in the lists of the *Egyptian* kings; as none of the authors have them alike. From hence has arisen a multiplicity of princes, beyond what the original dynasties consisted of. *Eusebius* certainly saw these mistakes; and endeavoured in part to remedy them: there is otherwise no accounting for his omission of these names; as they occur in those writers, from whom he copied.

As
A list of the *Shepherd* kings, as taken from different writers by
Sir John Marsham: Sec. VIII. pag. 102.

<i>Manetho.</i>		<i>Africanus.</i>		<i>Eusebius.</i>		<i>Syncellus.</i>	
<i>Reges Pastores.</i>		<i>Pastorum Phœnicum.</i>		<i>Pastorum Phœnicum.</i>		<i>Tanitarum IV.</i>	
<i>Salatis an.</i>	19	<i>Saites</i>	19	<i>Saites</i>	19	<i>Silites</i>	19
<i>Beon</i>	44	<i>Byon</i>	44	<i>Beon</i>	43	<i>Bæon</i>	44
<i>Apachnas</i>	36 7m.	<i>Pachnan</i>	61	<i>Aphobis</i>	14	<i>Apachnas</i>	36
<i>Apophis</i>	61	<i>Staan</i>	50	<i>Archles</i>	30	<i>Aphophis</i>	61
<i>Janias</i>	50 1m.	<i>Archles</i>	49			<i>Sethos</i>	50
<i>Affis</i>	49 2m.	<i>Aphobis</i>	61			<i>Kertus</i>	29
						<i>Afeih</i>	20
Sum. ann. 259. 10m.		284		106		259	
				In Chron. 103			

There is reason to think, that the like corruptions are to be found in many lists of ancient kings; where the same princes are introduced over again by a mistake of their title, or a transposition of their name. In the dynasty of *Affyrian* kings, as exhibited by *Ctesias*, *Africanus*, &c., the fifth prince is *Arius*, and his immediate successor *Aralius*. But *Aralius* seems to be the same name, only with the *Arabian* particle transposed. I imagine it to be a corruption for *Al Arius*, the same as *Al Arez*, the meaning of which I have explained. Thus in the 18th dynasty of *Egyptian* kings, *Armes*, *Armaus*, *Armais*, *Armases* seem to be the same as *Rameses*, the name of the next prince in the list: and probably they were the same person. Several instances of this sort may be produced.

As there was in these parts such a city as *Saïs*, at least so rendered by the *Greeks*; one would naturally imagine, that the *Saïte* province was from hence denominated: but it certainly was not: and it is here necessary to make a proper distinction. I have mentioned that the *Shepherd* king took his title from the capital province, *Tzain*, which he was first possessed of: but on the other hand, he gave name to the *Saïte* nome, which is not termed *Nomus Saïticus*, but *Saïtes*, and was called so from *Saït*, or *Saïd*, which was the name of this prince. This nome lay principally in upper *Egypt*: but *Tzain* was in the lower, and was properly distinct, though by some included in the former. I have taken notice, that the *Greeks* by their inflexions and terminations often rendered things the most unlike, very similar; and made other things to become very like, which at first had no connection nor resemblance. By their changing *Tzain* to *Saïs*, one would be led to imagine, that it gave name to the *Saïte* nome, and that there was some affinity between them: but in reality there was no similitude, nor correspondence. The province received it's name from the prince, as I have mentioned; but *Tsain* or *Tsoan* was the place from whence he took his title; and was consequently of a different etymology. It was a place of pastures, and the original seat of the *Shepherds* in *Egypt*, and undoubtedly received it's name from thence; being derived from ²*Tzon*, *Tzaan*, *Tzanab* (צנה, צאן) which signify sheep, flocks, and cattle. *Tzoan* signifies the *Shepherd* province, as *Cushan* does the *Arabian*: and *Melech al Tzoan* is the *Shepherd king*. What the *Hebrews* expressed צאן, according to the *Egyptian* idiom seems to have been rendered צן.

Such is my opinion about the ancient city and province of *Tzoan*. The city I have supposed to have been the same, which was called afterwards *Heliopolis*: and the field of *Zoan* to have been the adjacent country, a portion of the plain of *Egypt*.

² Gen. 4. v. 2. Gen. 47. v. 4. Psalm 8. v. 7.

Egypt. This *Tzoan* of the *Hebrews*, I imagine, was the *Tsaan* and *Tsain* of the *Egyptians*, altered by the *Greeks* to *Sain* and *Sais*. It was called both *Tzain* and *Cushan*; being denominated from the family, as well as from the occupation, of the people, who possessed it, the *Shepherds*, and *Cuseans*. But the *Saïte* province, though it did include *Tsain*, yet extended far above; comprehending *Memphis*, and whatever in upper *Egypt* was in the possession of this people: which province received it's name from *Saïd*, or *Saït*, the name of some of the most early princes in that country; but especially of *Salatis*, the first *Cusean* king. What is extraordinary, no time has been able to efface these memorials: and the *Copts*, as well as the *Arabs*, who now possess the country, call all this part of *Egypt* *Saït*, and *Sabid* at this day. It is mentioned by ³*Ulug Beig*, and ⁴*Nassir Ettusæus*, who place *Cous* in it, a place undoubtedly of *Cusean* original. *Kus in Saït Ægypti superioris*. The ⁵*Nubian* geographer speaks of it, in his description of places to be passed through in going from *Al Cairo* upwards. *Qui autem egreditur ex Metxr secus ampliorem partem Nili, intendens Sabid, &c.* But ⁶*Leo Africanus* describes it more amply. He makes *Egypt* to consist of three parts, *Errif*, *Bechria* or *Maramma*, and *Sabid*. *Errif* is the western, and *Canobic* part of *Delta*: *Maramma* is the *Pelusiæ*, and eastern: and upper *Egypt* from *Cairo* south, is called *Sabid*: which he particularises as being farthest from the sea. *Errifiæ et Marammæ habitatores Sabidicos urbanitate superant; quòd duæ hæ partes mari vicina, ab Europæis, Barbaricis, et Assyriis amplius frequentantur. Verùm Sabidici, in mediterraneis ultra Al Cairum habitantes, exteros nullos vident præter raros quosdam Æthiopas.* He moreover tells us, that the province *Sabid* was in ancient times the

seat

³ *Ulug Beig*. Geogr. Vet. Vol. 3. pag. 91.

⁴ *Nassir Ettusæus*. Geogr. Vet. Vol. 3. pag. 123.

⁵ *Geog. Nubiens.* Clim. 3. Part. 3. pag. 99.

⁶ *Leo Africanus*. Lib. 8. Cap. 2.

seat of Egyptian grandeur: *inobilitatem priscorum Egyptiorum olim in Sabidica regione supra Al Cairam constitisse*. All these circumstances correspond with the country from Heliopolis upwards, the *νεκρῶν πόλιν*, which was situated not much below the spot, where Cairo now stands. Memphis was about eighteen miles above Heliopolis. If any farther confirmation be wanting, it may be obtained from the Arabic version of the Bible; where the land of Goshen is always interpreted *Sadin*, or the land of *Said*; and Arabian evidence must have weight in respect to an history of that nation.

⁸ *Vansleb* tells us, that *Sabid* signifies a place or region higher than another: but ⁹ *Leo* supposes it to signify *terrestris*. If my opinion be well grounded, the province received its name from the first of the Shepherd kings: and the etymology at this distance of time is hardly to be arrived at. It is pretty certain, that *Said*, *Sait*, and *Saites* are originally the same as *Seth*, and *Setbas*; a name, by which one or more of the princes of the country were called; and particularly the first *Pastor* king. He is represented in the mythological history of Egypt, as the brother of *Osiris*, and is called *Typhon*; and is mentioned as having been in a constant state of war with *Osiris*. He was the first king of the *Aurite*, as I have shewn: and the dynasty of the *Aurite* was the most ancient of any in Egypt; as *Syncellus* witnesses from the old *Chronicle*; though he supposes them to have been gods: ¹ [Θεῶν] βασιλείαν πρῶτον τῶν Αὐριτῶν. This name signifies, if we may believe *Plutarch*, a person of high rule; a man of violence: but this interpretation I do not much depend on. It was not an Egyptian name, but a *Babylonish*; as may be seen in the annals of that nation. And this leads me, before I conclude, to take notice of a mistake in an *Assyrian*

⁷ Ibid. Cap. 3.

⁸ *Vansleb*. pag. 13.

⁹ *Ab Al Cairo ad Bugia confinia*, *Sabid*, id est, *Terrestrem*. pag. 666.

¹ *Syncellus*. pag. 51.

syrian or Babylonish dynasty, similar to what I have mentioned in the Egyptians, which will afford the highest confirmation to what I have been saying. The tenth king in the list is by Eusebius termed *Altadas*, and by Moses Choronenfis, from *Maribus* of Catina, he is called *Azatagus*. However different they may appear, these are certainly the same name, only mixed, and transposed. *Altadas* is *Al Tsaid*, or *Seth*: and *Azatagus*, or, as it should be read, *Alzatagus*, is *Ouc Al Tsait* with the Greek termination subjoined. They have suffered a transposition, like that of the name of *Salatis*: but, when traced to their original elements, are found to be *Said*, *Sait*, and *Seth*; as they were at different times expressed. Africanus puts the matter out of all doubt: for he expressly calls the person *Seth* or *Sethos*, who is the *Altadas* of Eusebius. Hence somebody has added in the dynasty of Africanus, as quoted in the canon of the above writer, $\Sigma\epsilon\theta\omega\varsigma$ [*Altadas* Eusebius;] that is, the "*Altadas* of Eusebius is the *Seth* of Africanus."

Whoever would unravel the mysteries, with which the writings of the Grecians are obscured, must sometimes make use of their errors for a clue; and from their mistakes find out their meaning. If we take things in the gross, as they occur, we shall find ourselves greatly mistaken. The histories of ancient date seem to have undergone the same fatality, as the cities, of which they treat. We see in both surprising memorials of antient achievements; but attended with vast chasms and interruptions, which it is very difficult to supply. The materials too have in many parts been mixed; and evidently

² *Moses Choronenfis Hist. Armenie. Lib. i.*

³ *Theophilus Antiochenus* tells us, that *Seth* gave name to the country. *Ad Autolyc. Lib. 3. pag. 396.* All these little fragments of history accord; and serve to the establishment of what I have been endeavouring to prove.

⁴ *Eusebii Histor. Συναγωγή. pag. 356.*

Altadas is a corruption for *Al Tsaid*.
Alzatagus for *Ouc Al Tsait*.

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dently bear marks of interpolation and change. They put one in mind of the walls of *Athens*, which were built out of the ruins of the city, when it had been sacked by the *Persians*: wherein were to be seen architraves, pillars, entablatures, fragments of every species of architecture, thrown together without order, or design; and lying in every direction, just as chance had allotted. The like confusion is to be observed amid the splendid ruins of ancient history. It is the duty therefore of a good architect to reduce, if possible, the scattered fragments to order; to raise the inverted column, to adapt the capital to the shaft, and to place all on a proper basis. This, I confess, is beyond my abilities to compass; though, I hope, that I have contributed some small matter towards it; and may possibly make farther advances.

F I N I S.



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